DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 308 997 RC 016 913

AUTHOR Castle, Emery, Ed.; Baldwin, Barbara, Ed.
TITLE National Rural Studies Committee: A Proceedings (1st, Hood River, Oregon, May 24-25, 1988).
INSTITUTION Western Rural Development Center, Corvallis, Oreg.
SPONS AGENCY Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich.
PUB DATE Jun 88
NOTE 86p.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Area Studies; *Conservation (Environment); *Economic Development; Economic Factors; Employment Patterns; Pastoral Literature; *Rural Areas; Rural Development; *Rural Economics; Rural Population; Stress Variables; United States Literature
IDENTIFIERS *Columbia River Gorge; National Rural Studies Committee; *Pacific Northwest

ABSTRACT

The purposes of the National Rural Studies Committee (NRSC) are to develop a comprehensive and coherent framework for viewing rural area problems, and to provide legitimacy for rural studies as an academic field of specialization. This first NRSC meeting focused on the picture of rural America drawn in American literature, the nature of employment in rural areas, major issues affecting rural economic development, the stresses of rural living, characteristics of the Pacific Northwest, and preservation of the Columbia River Gorge. Presentations included (1) "Country Books, City Writers: America's Rural Literature" by W. Howarth; (2) "Country Bards and Town Reviewers" by L. Hudson; (3) "Non-Extractive Employment Outside Metropolitan Areas" by E. S. Mills and G. Chodes; (4) "Rural Economic Development: Opportunities and Obstacles" by S. Batie; (5) "Beyond the Rural Population Turnaround: Implications for Rural Economic Development" by D. L. Brown; (6) "Meadows and Mountains, Fields and Forests, Storms and Stresses--The Rural Picture" by M. B. Lamberts; (7) "Rural Economic Development" by P. M. Cunningham; (8) "The Pacific Northwest: Physical, Economic, and Social Characteristics" by T. J. Maresh; (9) "Forces that Led to the Establishment of the Columbia River Gorge Commission" by S. Hansell; (10) "Visions, Change, and Worlds in the Columbia River Gorge" by A. L. Gallagher; and (11) "Traditional Industries of the Columbia River Gorge" by P. E. Crawford. (SV)

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ED308997

National Rural Studies Committee

a proceedings

Hood River, Oregon
May 24-25, 1988

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RC016913

National Rural Studies Committee

first annual meeting
Sponsored by
W. K. Kellogg Foundation

proceedings published
by the Western Rural
Development Center
at Oregon State University
Edited by Emery Castle and
Barbara Baldwin

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National Rural Studies Committee - What It Is And How It Functions

The first meeting of the National Rural Studies Committee (NRSC) was held in Hood River, Oregon May 24-26, 1988 and it is appropriate that this preface describe the Committee and set forth its purposes. In addition, the objectives and the structure of the Hood River Meeting will be described to assist the reader in integrating and relating the proceedings material.

On January 13, 1987, Dr. Gary King, program director, Kellogg Foundation, wrote Dr. John Byrne, president of Oregon State University, informing him of a commitment by the Foundation to fund the establishment of a National Rural Studies Committee. The regional rural development centers located at various land grant institutions, and Resources for the Future in Washington, D.C. were to be cooperating institutions. The regional rural development centers are:

Western Rural Development Center
Oregon State University
Southern Rural Development Center
Mississippi State University
North Central Regional Center for Rural

Development
Iowa State University

Northeast Reg. Center for Rural Development
Pennsylvania State University

Resources For the Future is a Washington based, non-profit organization that does public policy research related to resources and the environment.

The proposal made to the Kellogg Foundation stemmed from a conviction that rural area policies suffer because a comprehensive and coherent framework for classifying and analyzing rural area problems does not exist. The proposal also rested on the assumption that the reason or reasons for this state of affairs should be understood. One possibility is that the causes of rural area concerns are so diverse that a coherent and comprehensive framework for the analysis of these problems is not possible. Another is that rural area problems have not been examined in a comprehensive way by the appropriate intellectual disciplines. Rural sociologists, economic geographers, and agricultural economists have produced much useful knowledge about rural areas but few within those disciplines would describe the work of their fields as comprehensive or complete.

In contrast, urban studies appears to be more thoroughly and completely developed. Urban studies literature does exist which facilities the classification and policy analysis of urban problems. The purpose, then, of the NRSC is to determine if something comparable for the rural areas is feasible and possible.

From the outset, it was clear that several points of view would need to be represented on the Committee. The following criteria were utilized in selecting committee members:

1. Academic, scholarly and professional credentials in an area of specialization necessary for the understanding of rural areas, people, and problems. People were sought who are capable of addressing the following dimensions of rural area situations: a) spatial and geographic, b) organizational and political, c) human and social, and d) economic
2. Regional diversity
3. Institutional diversity

At the time of the Hood River Meeting the following people had accepted appointments as members of the NRSC:

Edward Bergman
Regional Science
University of North Carolina

David Brown
Sociology
Cornell University

Emery Castle
Economics
Oregon State University

Pierre Crosson
Economics
Resource For the Future

Edwin Mills
Economics
Northwestern University

Ronald Oakerson
Political Science
U.S. Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations

Sonya Salamon
Anthropology
University of Illinois

Carol Stack
Anthropology
Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

Gene Summers
Sociology
University of Wisconsin

Julian Wolpert
Geography
Princeton University

Bruce Weber
Agricultural Econmics
Oregon State

Whether or not the NRSC or other scholars develop a comprehensive and coherent framework for viewing rural area problems, it is apparent that the problems of the rural areas are real and pressing. There are many people in higher education, and others engaged in public policy education and research, who are capable of contributing to the solution of these difficult problems. Therefore a major objective of the NRSC is to call attention to, and provide legitimacy for, rural studies as an academic field of specialization within higher education.

Given these major purposes, how will the NRSC proceed? There will be two dominant approaches. One will be to provide direct assis-

tance to scholars, including younger ones, who wish to devote up to a year to such study. In addition, papers will be commissioned for the annual meetings of the Committee and thereby encourage the direct engagement of academic people on rural area problems.

The major tool the Committee will utilize to accomplish its objectives will be its annual meetings, of which the Hood River meeting was the first. The objectives of these meetings are indeed ambitious. It is envisioned that three kinds of questions or issues will be explored:

1. Fundamental concerns and concepts that have general application.

2. Research studies and policy approaches directed to issues and problems of a specific nature.

3. Case studies of particular rural area problems. Annual meeting sites will be selected with case studies in mind.

Participants in the annual meetings will be people of diverse backgrounds and interests. A range of academic disciplines will always be represented. People "on the firing line" with particular leadership responsibilities also will be involved as well as those who are affected by the case study situations.

The overriding and primary objective of these annual meetings is to inform the NRSC about rural problems and issues, to develop promising conceptual approaches, to acquaint the Committee with relevant research, and to have them observe existing problems. The NRSC will be expected to synthesize the findings of these annual meetings in its final report, which will address the two fundamental issues stated at the outset of this Preface:

1. Are there conceptual approaches or analytical frameworks that are useful in addressing rural area issues and problems? If so, what are they?

2. What are the major rural area issues and problems to which those in higher education might contribute through education and research?

To this time the higher education institutions most active in comprehensive rural area research and education have been the Land Grant Universities, and especially the Cooperative Extension Services of those institutions. The Committee expects to draw heavily on the experience of these institutions in its work, but all of higher education will be considered — public and private, Land Grant and non-Land Grant.

Even though the primary purpose of the annual meetings will be to inform the NRSC, it is expected there will be many useful by-products. Others in academia will benefit by obtaining information about rural area problems and approaches to those problems. Those "on the firing line" will benefit by the perspective of, and contacts with, those in academia. In fact, it is expected that informal networks and communication channels will be established in the wake of each annual meeting, and that each meeting will have an immediate and direct effect on those who participate. Through publication of the proceedings, others will benefit as well. If warranted, a selection of the more seminal articles from the various proceedings will be published in book form.

The Plan of the Hood River Meeting. The Hood River meeting was designed to address rural area issues at three levels. The morning program of the first day was intended to apply to rural areas generally. The afternoon of the first day also had general application but in the context of specific approaches or problems. The second day was concerned with regional issues and the case study area.

The rural and local social environment was established by holding the meeting in Hood River, a city of 4,500 population, dinner entertainment by the Madrigal Singers of the Hood River High School at the end of the first day and a field trip in the afternoon of the second day, followed by dinner at a Grange Hall.

During the first morning, presentations were made by two academic people who specialize in American literature. The purpose was to obtain an understanding of the nature of the rural America that has been captured in that literature. Are there stereotypes and, if so, are they overdrawn? This question and related issues become of great importance as the population becomes more urban and less rural. Urban people will make fewer and fewer direct observations of rural conditions and will be increasingly dependent on the depictions of others.

The first morning also included a presentation by a noted regional and urban economist who

is a member of the National Rural Studies Committee. He examined the nature of employment in the rural areas, making explicit the extent to which the rural areas have encompassed economic activities other than the extractive industries of agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining.

The afternoon of the first day involved panel presentations and audience participation on major issues affecting rural America. Opportunities and obstacles to rural economic development, sociodemographic trends, rural families under stress, and the role of state government were among the topics discussed.

The second day began with a presentation on the Pacific Northwest as a region, followed by a panel presentation on the recently formed Columbia Gorge Commission. The Columbia River Gorge is a unique natural resource and the Commission is an institutional device that has been developed to insure the preservation of the Gorge as a scenic resource. This preservation will also shape economic and social activities of the Gorge and surrounding areas.

The discussions of the second day included presentations on the traditional industries of the area as well as reactions of local people to the Commission and its activities.

It is doubtful that anyone is capable of assessing fully the impact of this first meeting of the NRSC. These proceedings only partially capture its content. Certain implications will emerge only after the passage of time and subsequent regional meetings. In 1989 the NRSC will meet in Greenville, Mississippi to study the rural problems of the Delta area of Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. In 1990 and 1991 meetings will be held in the mid-west and northeast. Nevertheless, certain conclusions can be now drawn from the deliberations at Hood River.

It is clear there are benefits to be obtained from drawing on the less traditional bodies of thought concerning rural problems. The insights provided by Howarth and Hudson cannot be obtained from the social sciences. Their contribution has lead to suggestions that the perspectives of history and of philosophy should be sought for future meetings. This meeting also established that much is to be gained from interchange between those in academic work, those in leadership positions, and those who are affected by rural policies as well as interchange across disciplines.

Over-generalization should be avoided as well. The NRSC must keep in mind that the Columbia Gorge is a unique national resource and the best means for dealing with the problems of the Gorge may not be best for other rural areas concerned about environmental preservation. But many rural areas need to deal with issues related to their natural environment. And many rural areas need to accommodate non-traditional economic activities, such as the wind-surfing so popular in the Gorge. The Hood River meeting and associated field trip clearly established that environmental preservation policies have impacts on the traditional economic activities and that all local residents will not be affected in the same way.

These proceedings are being made available in the hope they will be of value to a wide range of people, but it has been the purpose of this Preface to demonstrate that they are but one part, indeed the first part, of a complex process that will not be completed for some time. Hopefully, they will be evaluated in the same spirit that they are offered.

Emery N. Castle
June, 1988

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Country Books, City Writers
America's Rural Literature

William Howarth*

From the Observation Car. In the opening passage of Willa Cather's novel, *My Antonia*, two old friends meet one summer day on a train rushing across Iowa. They grew up in the same Midwest town, and crossing this homeland together leads them to reminisce:

> While the train flashed through never-ending miles of ripe wheat, by country towns and bright-flowered pastures and oak groves wilting in the sun, we sat in the observation car, where the woodwork was hot to the touch and red dust lay deep over everything. The dust and heat, the burning wind, reminded us of many things. We were talking about what it is like to spend one's childhood in little towns like these, buried in wheat and corn, under stimulating extremes of climate: burning summers when the world lies green and billowy beneath a brilliant

*Princeton University
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> sky, when one is fairly stifled in vegetation, in the color and smell of strong weeds and heavy harvests; blustery winters with little snow, when the whole country is stripped bare and grey as sheet- iron. We agreed that no one who had not grown up in a little prairie town could know anything about it. It was a kind of freemasonry, we said.

That soaring, lyrical passage is a famous description of the American heartland, viewed from the observation car of memory and imagination. Cather recalls a life spent close to the soil and sky, where people "buried" and "stifled" by natural forces develop an earthy texture, strong and resolute as young vegetation. Seasoned by time and the elements, they form "a kind of freemasonry," one that bonds them into a sympathetic fellowship with each other and their land.

What the two friends also have in common is that both long ago left the Midwest for urban careers. The train is carrying them east to New York, back to a familiar world of corporate jobs and high-rise apartments. In the city they will consort with poets and painters, the sort of people rarely found in little prairie towns. The country is their past: its memories rise up from the heat and dust and then slip away, receding as the observation car speeds on. Thus one friend urges the other to write about their prairie world before it vanishes altogether.

Most of America's country books are by city writers, exiles who left home in order to praise it . . .

This fictional scene strongly reflects its author's life, for Willa Cather composed many of her prairie novels in a Greenwich Village apartment, in lower Manhattan. That small paradox recurs throughout literary history, since writing and publishing are mainly urban enterprises. Most of America's country books are by city writers, exiles who left home in order to praise it, who came to treasure rural landscapes only as they began to disappear.

An opposite dilemma faces me as I survey this literature, for on the whole I have little direct experience of the country. I grew up in Midwest cities, attended graduate school in the South, and then settled in the heart of America's most densely populated region, the I-95 corridor. My adoptive New Jersey still calls itself the Garden State, but today its acres of corn and blueberries are fast disappearing under the developer's asphalt roller.

Only in recent years, while traveling on assignment for National Geographic, did I begin to visit rural America. I ate in farm kitchens and walked through fields, but always I learned most from sharing a day's work. In Vermont I tapped maple trees for buckets of sap, often pausing for a cold, sweet drink. On the plains of Idaho I dug potatoes with migrant workers, most of them illegal aliens from Mexico. In California I moved irrigation pipe, perhaps the hardest, nastiest job available in modern agriculture.

But I was a stranger, not part of the freemasonry; I made friends and worked a few hours, then went home to write. No expert on agriculture, I could offer a long list of rural inexperience. I have never chopped cotton, bucked bales of hay on a hot August day, or repaired a tractor in driving rain. But I have learned that farm labor means hard effort and tangible results, and that it hones the mind. I remember an Oklahoman who pulled a thick clump of goldenrod from his land: "You know this dirt's good," he said, "when it grows weeds like this."

As a boy I learned about rural life mainly from my father, who was born near the Wabash River valley in lower Indiana. From 1907 to 1921 his family farmed shares in that region, mostly on low-lying floodplains. They never owned their land nor earned more than a subsistence living. In good years they raised corn, alfalfa, eggs, a daughter and two sons. In bad years they planted seed and watched spring floods rise repeatedly to drown their crops. The mule pulled up lame, chickens died, debts piled high.

. . . the pastoral . . .idealized rural life as a vanished Golden Age, when life was simple, pure and innocent.

Farming was a hard life, but they neither exaggerated its hardships nor romanticized its small pleasures. My father remembers walking traplines in early winter, catching a few wild rabbits to put fresh meat on the table. The family diet was so monotonous, he recalled, that it was a small

miracle on Christmas Day to reach into his stocking and find a fresh orange, shipped all the way from Florida.

Eventually they left the farm, like millions of other rural tenants in the 1920s, and moved to south Chicago to take up factory jobs. My grandparents never farmed again, but they always kept a trim lawn and a large patch of garden vegetables. And like most migrants they kept their memories and stories, imaginative shares of a land they never really owned. Country life gave them an identity as a people, made them into a clan with their own place and time.

I only recognized those traits after meeting my in-laws, whose background and temperament were quite different. They were a small and scattered tribe, suburban folk with little trace of country origins. Although kind and friendly, they held few reunions and rarely reminisced or told family stories. Perhaps, I decided, that was because stories come with the land.

The Pastoral Impulse. Many of the world's creation myths begin with land, telling how it was formed and who lives there, and most early people placed those stories at the heart of their culture. Poets have celebrated this impulse for over 2,000 years, beginning in the 3rd century B.C with Theocritus. While at court in Alexandria he composed idyllic rural verses, based on memories of his native Sicily. He thus became the first city writer to produce a nostalgic country genre, the pastoral. These poems of piping shepherds and fair maidens idealized rural life as a vanished Golden Age, when life was simple, pure and innocent.

Pastoral poetry entered Judeo-Christian tradition through the Scriptures, the text that later, when printed Bibles became widely available, most influenced Western rural life. Readers found in the Old Testament an epic history of an agrarian people, long separated from their homeland and struggling to return. The New Testament parables of Jesus invoked images of shepherds, of grain, or of oil to spiritualize earthly matter and build a theology for common people.

This ancient tradition changed little in the Middle Ages, but then began to acquire a more complex cultural role during the Renaissance. As printing systems shifted from handwritten manuscripts to moveable type, literary production gravitated toward urban centers. Pastoral poetry in the 1500s has an oddly artificial quality: the time is spring, the scene a blooming countryside bedecked with young rustics, but they speak a stilted, courtly language and wear drawing-room attire. These poems, often enacted with music and costumes, were entertainments for court audiences, patrons who commissioned the works from sophisticated urban poets. The pastorals of Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare thus have interesting cross-purposes to consider.

For the court audience, such entertainments helped to release fantasy and nostalgia, allowing aristocrats to play at being "rustic." In Shakespeare's As You Like It (1600), a group of lords and ladies take to the woods and mimic country life, which they imagine as more idle and carefree than their courtly duties. These works indulged privileged classes with the luxury of regressing to an idyllic agrarian order—at the point in history when rural peasantry was beginning to decline.

Today an enduring pastoralism shapes our culture: it appears in city parks and suburban gardens . . . it assuages fears of progress and posits a stable continuity in nature

For the poet, pastorals released a different tension, granting him statements about his craft and its cultural function. The piping shepherd is at once allegorical and autobiographical, a voice that praises the labor of poetry and satirizes the vanity of city and court life—the very audience that supports his endeavors. Hence the pastoral is ambivalently temporal, being both retrospective and prophetic. Through it an audience reaches back toward a golden, innocent world; while the poet looks ahead and envisions a darker, altered future.

The absurd extreme of royal pastoralism appeared at Versailles, where Louis XVI built for his Marie Antoinette a rustic hamlet of thatched cottages. Some favorite cows wore gilded hooves, and the titled "maids" carried golden milk pails. But by the late 1700s this frivolity was dead. Royal patronage of the arts diminished, swept

away by revolutions. An industrial economy arose, drawing peasants to the cities and a new tenancy imposed by wages and urban slums. At the same time came improvements in print technology, producing cheap, mass-market texts that spread literacy. Literature reached out for the rising middle class, an audience that offered writers financial support and greater independence.

Under these pressures the pastoral might have died, since it so depended on aristocratic patronage. But instead the genre grew less affected and more natural, broadening its popular appeal and emerging to dominate 19th-century Romanticism. In the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) of Wordsworth and Coleridge, city poets continued to praise the glory of field and farm, but now in the plain, unornamented words of country folk, "the real language of men in a state of vivid sensation." This idealizing of natural forms and styles also spread to the sister arts of painting and music, as in Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* (1816).

Agriculture was slow and stable, fit for wealthy or poor classes, but not an ambitious middle class:

During the last two centuries, the pastoral has not only survived modernization but thrived on the very pace and affluence of urban life. Today an enduring pastoralism shapes our culture: it appears in city parks and suburban gardens, second country homes and wilderness treks, Winnebagos on the road and *Bambi* in the VCR. As nations grow more technological, as economies turn from producing goods to services, those trends guarantee the tenacity of pastoral values.

Throughout its history the pastoral has monitored social change: for all the classes, it assuages fears of progress and posits a stable continuity in nature. To the critic William Empson, pastoral is a means of "putting the complex into the simple," expressing intricacy clearly, which explains why the impulse waxes with the quickened pace of history. In a world now driven by ideology and information, pastorals remind us of unmediated effort, the pleasure of raking leaves or stacking firewood. The view from an observation car must be pastoral, to preserve our dream of unfallen Paradise.

Nature's Nation. That dream led Europeans to the New World and inspired its discovery and exploration. Many historians of American culture—Henry Nash Smith, R. W. B. Lewis, Leo Marx, Roderick Nash, Annette Kolodny—find that our national identity rose from acquiring images of the land. We are "Nature's Nation," in the words of Perry Miller, a country defined by its natural bounty and potential. At the outset no one knew the limits to aboriginal North America, only that it was an immense, wild and sparsely populated continent that offered Europeans opportunities for exploitation.

But in America the pastoral tradition took on a new meaning: this land was not a dream of reclaiming innocence but the actuality of confronting it. The task here was to fill an "empty" space, to face a howling wilderness and tame it with cultivation. Driven by the injunction in Genesis, to hold dominion over the earth, Americans sought to make their land produce, to speak in human terms. We may now debate the consequences of that attitude, but not its original necessity. To make a garden of this world Americans had to break its ground, and so begin their story. As Robert Frost later wrote, "The land was ours before we were the land's."

America's early rural literature is thus not pastoral in the European sense, for no one could depict here a land of eternal springtime, full of piping shepherds and fair maidens. No royal patrons demanded rustic entertainment; those distant, anonymous figures only sought profits from their colonial holdings. The early American books were mostly reports or "relations" directed to European readers. That meant *Good News from Virginia* (1613), where the soil was warm and well-drained, but in Massachusetts the Puritans faced a harsh climate and stony land. To survive there was a tribute to the faith that *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693) must lie beyond New England. Years of successful farming challenged this axiom, however, until Puritans questioned whether their original "city upon a hill" was God's plantation, or a model for the world to admire and follow.

The whole sense of purpose in American settlement changed in the 1700s, driven by rising prosperity and resentment over absentee governance of colonial resources. Many conservative

leaders of the American Revolution were wealthy planters who wrote political tracts styled as agrarian "letters." In *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (1768) John Dickinson offered a Tory critique of British imperialism, asserting that America is a land where work distinguishes citizens more than class origins and fashion. J. Hec-

Popular literature focused on rural rather than urban depression . . . and the image of its decay was firmly etched in the novels of Faulkner, Caldwell, and Steinbeck.

tor St. Jean de Crevecoeur went farther in his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), asserting that the American identity was fundamentally agrarian:

> Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory, communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers, united by the silken bands of mild government, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are all animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself.

This definition of a homogenous America, where the poor of Europe enjoy "a pleasing uniformity of decent competence," reflected general conditions after the Revolution. The new nation consisted mostly of small towns and numerous farms, lying east of the Appalachians. In that spacious region of settlement, it was natural to see Americans as closely connected to their land and bound only by ties of mild government. Crevecoeur had identified Americans as a pastoral people, free and self-governing republicans, the sort of yeoman farmers that Jefferson saw as natural aristocrats, ready to improve upon the Old World's errors. *The Farmer's Almanac* (1793) popularized this ideal by depicting the American as one man on a plot of ground, yet connected to the cosmic round of sun, moon, and stars. (Ronald Reagan is thus not the first republican to follow the dictates of a zodiac.)

During the early 1800s a rising population challenged this image, as settlers crossed the Appalachians into the Ohio valley and old Northwest. Although this region was suited for farming, Alexis Tocqueville predicted in his *Democracy in America* (1838) that the expanding nation would develop other enterprises. Agriculture was slow and stable, fit for wealthy or poor classes, but not an ambitious middle class:

> "...democracy not only swells the number of working- men, but leads men to prefer one kind of labor to another; and while it diverts them from agriculture, it encourages their tastes for commerce and manufactures."

America's economy moved in that direction, but not uniformly in all regions. The Northeast turned industrial while the South remained agricultural, and the ensuing quarrels that led to the Civil War were largely between those two different production systems. Western expansion beyond the Mississippi River only stimulated more rivalry, while arousing a nationalistic call for Manifest Destiny, America's divine right to clear the continent of foreign holdings.

The literary culture of 19th-century Romanticism straddled these issues, echoing the Crevecoeur-Tocqueville schism on America's future. Conservatives tended to celebrate the familiar rustic ways of their regions, as with the "schoolroom poets" of New England—Bryant, Whittier, Lowell, and Longfellow. In New York, James Fenimore Cooper wrote his Leatherstocking novels to denounce Western expansion, blaming it for destroying the wilderness and native people, and for degrading the old Eastern landed aristoc-

. . .the West was now a toxic waste dump and nuclear arms range, studded with abandoned family farms . . . a barren interval lying between the two coasts . . .

racy. In novels such as *The Prairie* (1827) the frontier becomes an ominously leveling region, promoting class intermarriage and encouraging peasants to embrace the new spirit of Jacksonian democracy.

Liberals were less fearful of these masses and more concerned with shaping their future. "Prospects," the final chapter in Emerson's *Nature* (1836), asks its readers to trust in change: "Build therefore your own world. As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions." Yet Emerson declined to test his own ideas, refusing an invitation to join Margaret Fuller and other reform- minded spirits at Brook Farm, an experimental agrarian commune. Nathaniel Hawthorne, another Brook Farm resident, later satirized the abortive efforts of those philosopher-farmers in The *Blithedale Romance* (1852).

In this era many religious sects—Shakers, the Amish, Mennonites—ran successful farming communes, but an important secular experiment was Henry D. Thoreau's rural sojourn at Walden Pond in 1845-47. Thoreau managed to resolve the dichotomy between ideals and circumstance that eluded his fellow Transcendentalists. In Walden (1854) Thoreau insists on integrating thought and deeds. His book describes how a philosopher may live, not within himself but wholly in the world: building a house in the woods near a pond, kneading bread with his hands and baking it at an open fire. Thoreau seeks and praises a holistic life, having experience in order to earn his writing. Like his beanrows, he roots himself in the soil before stretching toward the sun:

> What though I value the seeds of these beans, and harvest them in the fall of the year? This broad field which I have looked at so long looks not to me as the principal cultivator, but away from me to influences more genial to it, which water and make it green. These beans have results which are not harvested by me. Do they not grow for woodchucks partly?

The Civil War nearly shattered this idealism, but not the American sense of its identity as Nature's Nation. Walt Whitman, who styled himself "a kosmos, of Manhattan the son," was an urban poet who persistently depicted America with pastoral images. Whitman's central metaphor is the title of his major opus, *Leaves of Grass* (1855-92). Each blade of grass is distinct—grasses have a complex botany, with many species—yet in a field the leaves blend together, one united into many. To Whitman this figure represented the democratic ties of self and society, states and union. He also found poetry in the farmer's humble compost heap, which brings forth life from decaying matter, and in the fields of rising grain that salute President Lincoln's coffin, tokens of resurrection for his grieving nation.

After the Civil War the West matured, then began to yield its own generation of writers. Edward Eggleston, (*The Hooiser School-Master*, 1883) and E. W. Howe, (*The Story of a Country Town*, 1883), wrote novels about small prairie hamlets, while Mark Twain immortalized villages beside the Mississippi River. These authors reflected the course of Western settlement, but often from an Eastern perspective. Eggleston was a minister in Brooklyn, while Twain wrote about Missouri from his mansion in Hartford, Connecticut. The ending of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), where Huck says he will "light out for the Territory" before yielding to civilization, is therefore doubly ironic, both for Twain and his nation.

For in 1885 little open territory remained in America, and that created a problem for the national identity. The last Indian lands in Oklahoma opened to homesteading in the 1890s, and when Frederick Jackson Turner wrote "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893), he defined the frontier just as it vanished, four centuries after Columbus. Turner implied that America was no longer an empty land to fill, but a space with finite limits. Pastoralism had followed settlers across this continent. What happened when surveyor's grids and fences closed the open range, when the Territory became states and federal "public land," when most of the population lived in urban or metropolitan centers?

By the early 1900s America's new writers came mostly from cities, where they had trained as newspaper reporters—a breed with tough, anti-pastoral views. In *Maggie* (1896) and *Sister Carrie* (1900), Stephen Crane and Theodore Dreiser depicted young women sexually defamed by life in the cities, while such authors as Jacob Riis, (*The Battle with the Slums*, 1902), Lincoln Steffens, (*Shame of the Cities*, 1904), and Upton Sinclair, (*The Jungle*, 1906) bluntly described

urban and industrial squalor. These city journalists, "muckrakers" to offended politicians, had absorbed the determinist visions of Marx and Darwin, who held that large, indifferent forces dominate humanity and crush its willful resistance.

Most books of this era found little pastoral innocence, even in rural settings. Fiction by Hamlin Garland, (*Main-Travelled Roads*, 1891) and Frank Norris, (*The Octopus*, 1901) portray farmers as tiny, pathetic figures pitted against the harsh forces of land and climate, and also snared in the tentacles of market or railroad monopolies. Americans were no longer a nation of free, republican farmers; now they were enslaved and lost amid a vast, brutal landscape.

But as the 1900s progressed, this image of rural life gave way to greater introspection. In the years when my grandparents were farming, a modern pastoral literature began to emerge in the poems of Robert Frost, (*North of Boston*, 1914), Edgar Lee Masters, (*Spoon River Anthology*, 1915), and Carl Sandburg, (*Corn-Huskers*, 1918), and in the early prairie novels of Willa Cather, (*O Pioneers!*, 1913; *The Song of the Lark*, 1915; and *My Antonia*, 1918). Little of this work focused on the realities of farming in 1915, but on memories of 40 years ago: homesteads, small towns, railroads. To writers of this era rural life was less an economic resource than a cultural legacy, part of the national imagination.

By now pastoral literature was imbued with Freudian theory, as writers increasingly explored the psychosexual dimensions of country life. In *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919) Sherwood Anderson populated his fictional village with dreamers and ravers, people obsessed by sexual drives and thwarted by repressive neuroses. To Ernest Hemingway the woods and streams of northern Michigan became havens for a convalescing war veteran, in search of childhood security. "Big Two-Hearted River," published in *In Our Time* (1924), enacts repression by never alluding to the war or the veteran's wound—yet every moment of camping or fishing threatens to awake those violent memories. This country was not safe but broken, its abandoned farms and shuttered milltowns a portent of oncoming national failure.

The Depression that hit America's industrial cities in the 1930s was old news in the country. From 1910 on, the years when my grandparents struggled to farm, American agriculture experienced widespread shocks, jolted by prolonged drought and the arrival of tractor mechanization. These changes ended land tenancy and forced millions of rural workers to migrate to the far West. Popular literature focused on rural rather than urban depression, and mainly on agricultural collapse in the South. Since the Civil War, that region had suffered through 70 years of economic stagnancy, and the image of its rural decay was now firmly etched in the novels of William Faulkner, Erskine Caldwell, and John Steinbeck.

Faulkner and Steinbeck created our most famous and controversial images of 20th century rural life, working from quite opposite visions of history. Faulkner's 14 novels and many stories (1929-62) about a mythical Yoknapatawpha county present a conservative saga, reminiscent of Fenimore Cooper, in which the landed gentry of northern Mississippi decline through moral degeneracy, the wages of slavery, while former poor whites rise as parvenu merchants, the new possessors of the land. What Faulkner did not predict was the emergence of a commercial, industrial "New South," sustained by northern capital and federally-mandated civil rights, that has begun to loosen the ties of the old racist, agrarian past.

In *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) Steinbeck posed a Marxist argument about the Depression, describing poor white sharecroppers who are forced to migrate from the Cotton Belt to California, where they fall victims to the fascist practices of corporate agriculture. Although a gigantic best-seller, his book drew fire from critics on both the political left and right. Especially offended were California's "Okies," a subculture united today by dialect, food, music, and undying enmity for John Steinbeck. Yet the novel is historically significant because it is the last major popular book to treat the working lives of American farmers.

In the postmodern era, many writers have turned away from the country. In his chapter for the Columbia Literary *History of the United States* (1988) Charles Molesworth depicts the era since 1945 as dominated by two broad developments: "the international leadership of America in terms of global strategy and economic development for

the Western nations, and the gradual but seemingly inevitable growth of a postindustrial society." This meant that Americans either looked out toward their role in the wide world or in toward a new infrastructure, and neither vantage strongly connected their needs to rural land.

In postmodern literature, figures such as the anonymous hero of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) sense collapse from all directions and thus turn cynical and narcissistic. Rootless and transient, the nomads of a Nuclear Age are suspicious of politics, religion, or any ideology that presumes to trust in a common social contract. A far cry from the founding Puritans, the characters of Saul Bellow, John Updike, Joan Didion, or Thomas Pyncheon live in fractured worlds, dizzied by the clamor of ethnic, racial, and sexual factions. People know who, but rarely *where*, they are, while for an ancestor like Thoreau (the second chapter in *Walden* is "Where I Lived, and What I Lived For") that sense of geographical placement was central to his identity and principles.

Although ignored in recent literature, the country itself is still there, forming a panoramic backdrop for the continental journeys of Jack Kerouac, Robert Pirzig, Tom Wolfe, and Hunter Thompson, whose counter-culture heroes compulsively take to the road in frenzied replays of the old Westering history—and of their pastoral ancestors, courtiers dressed in rustic costume. Few noted that the West was now a toxic waste dump and nuclear arms range, studded with abandoned family farms. In *The Nine Nations of North America* (1981), Joel Garreau dubbed that region "The Empty Quarter," a barren interval lying between the two coasts, merely a background to the figure of society.

But during the 1960s a pastoral impulse arose in the environmental movement, with its legacy of Earth Days and organic foods, that affected not fiction but essays, memoirs, and journalism—as in the works of John McPhee, Annie Dillard, Edward Hoagland, Barry Lopez, or Garrison Keillor. This trend shows no sign of diminishing, and may well influence a rising generation of writers. The Summer, 1988 issue of *Granta*, a journal of contemporary literature, contains several works on the theme of "Home." One by Bill Bryson, an Iowan long exiled in England, is called "Fat Girls in Des Moines." It progresses from an initially wicked burlesque of Iowa as a flat, dull country, where the men all wear feed caps and the women resemble "elephants dressed in children's clothing," to a celebration of those friendly, intelligent, and highly literate people. At the end, Bryson experiences an epiphany:

> On another continent, 4,000 miles away, I am quietly seized with that nostalgia that overcomes you when you have reached the middle of your life and your father has recently died and it dawns on you that when he went he took a part of you with him. I want to go back to the magic places of my youth—to Mackinac Island, Estes Park, Gettysburg—and see if they were as good as I remember them. I want to hear the long, low sound of a Rock Island locomotive calling across a still night, and the clack of it receding into the distance. I want to see lightning bugs, and hear cicadas shrilling, and be inescapably immersed in that hot, crazy-making August weather that makes your underwear scoot up every crack and fissure and cling to you like latex, and drives mild-mannered men to pull out handguns in bars and light up the night with gunfire. I want to look for Ne-Hi Pop and Burma Shave signs and go to a ball game and sit at a marble-topped soda fountain and drive through the kind of small towns that Deanna Durbin and Mickey Rooney used to live in the movies. It's time to go home.

We are back on the observation car once more, speeding across an imaginary Iowa. The pastoral world of the 1950s that Bryson describes is now nearly gone, its marble-topped soda fountains yielding to fast-food emporia and shopping malls. Hence a writer who recalls that landscape must capture it for us, using the power of language to move us beyond ourselves; to make us see what forces truly govern the earth. We never really own our land, only work its shares a while. That's what I learned from family stories and want to pass on to others.

Initiatives. In practical terms, higher education will have to work to make this legacy survive. Here are three initiatives to consider:

1. Develop courses that foster "land literacy," linking humanities to earth sciences. By connecting literature and history to geography and ecology, these courses would develop a strong sense of how physical regions have affected the growth of human culture and society. The courses should have strong experiential components, entailing work/study in rural places and outdoor locations.

2. Conduct institutes on these themes for college and secondary teachers. The institutes, modeled after NEH Summer Seminars or the Geographic Alliances of the National Geographic Society, would provide interdisciplinary learning for the teachers and stimulate new curricula in their schools.

3. Promote continuing symposia to encourage scholars to research, publish, and teach in this field. One aim might be to subsume "rural studies" into regional studies, thus avoiding the negative stereotyping of "rural" but also widening its frame of reference. In this paper I have assumed that "rural" and "urban" are often synonymous, or at least co-exist in a symbiosis.

In that spirit, we should consider traditions other than the Occidental, asking how Asian concepts of land, nature, and humanity have affected their cultures. In a New York *Times* dispatch for May 9, 1988, Philip Taubman reported that Soviet farmers still venerate the Russian soil: "Residents speak of the earth with awe and affection, and they seek—not always with success—to inculcate the same attitudes in their children." As one woman told Taubman, "There's something intoxicating about working in the fields in the spring... . You pick up the soil and it's like holding your mother's hand. The air makes you dizzy."

That pastoral mysticism has survived years of state-imposed atheism and collective farming, and those are instinctual feelings worth passing on to children. The rural world lies not apart from our urban centers, but all around them. We share the same ground.

America's Rural Literature: A Reading List

General Reference

Frank Debenham, *Discovery and Exploration*
Clarence Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*
Paul Shepard, *Man in the Landscape*
Peter Farb, *Face of North America*
Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America*

Early Pastorals

Theocritus, *Idylls*
Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, Song of Songs, Gospels
Dorothy Hartley, *Lost Country Life*
Edmund Spenser, *The Shepherd's Calendar*
Philip Sidney, *Arcadia*
William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*
William Wordsworth & Samuel Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*

American Cultural History

Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*
Norman Foerster, *Nature in American Literature*
Hans Huth, *Nature and the American*
Arthur Ekirch, *Man and Nature in America*
A. Whitney Griswold, *Farming and Democracy*
William Smallwood, *Natural History and the American Mind*
Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land*
R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam*
Perry Miller, *Nature's Nation*
David Noble, *The Eternal Adam and the New World Garden*
Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*
Wilson Clough, *The Necessary Earth*
Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*
Annete Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land*
Lee Clark Mitchell, *Witnesses to a Vanishing America*
William Howarth & Charles Miller, *Nature in American Life*

Colonial and Revolutionary America

Alexander Whitaker, *Good News from Virginia*
William Bradford, *History of Plimoth Plantation*
Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*
Richard Byrd, *Journey to the Land of Eden*
John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*
H. St. J. de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*
Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*

Romanticism and Transcendentalism

Alexis Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*
James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers, The Prairie*
Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*
John Greenleaf Whittier, *Legends of New England*
Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature*
Sylvester Judd, *Margaret*
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Evangeline*
James Russell Lowell, *The Biglow Papers*
Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance*
Henry D. Thoreau, *Walden, The Maine Woods*
Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*

Realism

Edward Eggleston, *The Hoosier School-Master*
E. W. Howe, *The Story of a Country Town*
Joel Chandler Harris, *Uncle Remus*
Mark Twain, *Roughing It, Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*
Sarah Orne Jewett, *A Country Doctor, Country of the Pointed Firs*
Kate Chopin, *Bayou Folk*
Owen Wister, *The Virginian*
Mary Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*

Naturalism

Stephen Crane, *Maggie, A Girl of the Streets*
Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie*
Charles Rosenfeld, *Songs from the Ghetto*
Thorstin Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*
Jacob Riis, *The Battle with the Slums*
Lincoln Steffens, *Shame of the Cities*
Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*
Hamlin Garland, *Main-Travelled Roads, Rose of Dutcher's Cooly*
Frank Norris, *McTeague, The Octopus, The Pit*
Jack London, *The Call of the Wild*

Modernism

Edwin Arlington Robinson, *The Town Down the River*
Robert Frost, *North of Boston*
Carl Sandburg, *Corn-Huskers*
Willa Cather, *O Pioneers!, The Song of the Lark, My Antonia*
Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio, Poor White*
Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street*
Ernest Hemingway, *In Our Time*
Ellen Glasgow, *Barren Ground*
Glenway Wescott, *The Grandmothers*
Ole Rolvaag, *Giants in the Earth*
William Faulkner, *As I Lay Dying, Light in August, Go Down, Moses*
Erskine Caldwell, *Tobacco Road, God's Little Acre*
John Steinbeck, *Of Mice and Men, The Grapes of Wrath*
Robert Penn Warren, *All the King's Men*

Postmodernism

Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*
Saul Bellow, *Dangling Man, Henderson the Rain King*
John Updike, *Rabbit, Run, Rabbit Redux, Rabbit is Rich Joan Didion*, Play it as it Lays, *The White Album*
Thomas Pyncheon, *The Crying of Lot 49, Gravity's Rainbow Jack* Kerouac, *On the Road, The Dharma Bums*
Robert Pirzig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*
Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*
Hunter Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*

Environmental and Regional Writing

Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac*
John McPhee, *Coming into the Country, Basin and Range*
Annie Dillard, *A Pilgrim at Tinker Creek*
Edward Abbey, Desert Solitaire, *Down the River*
Edard Hoagland, *Walking the Dead Diamond River*
Barry Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men, Arctic Dreams*

Rob Schultheis, *The Hidden West*
Garrison Keillor, *Lake Woebegone Days*
Bill Holm, *Prairie Days*
Charles Kuralt, *On the Road*

Country Bards and Town Reviewers

Lois Hudson*

I see by the program that I am supposed to be talking about "rural America as depicted in American literature," but there is a subcategory on which I am much more expert, so I am going to talk about *that*. Robert Morley, the British film actor, once said, "School is all wrong. They ask you what you don't know, not what you know. When I took the test in sixth grade, the question was 'Where is Cape Fear?' I said I didn't know but that I could give the names of the Twelve Apostles and I did." I *do* know something about rural America as depicted in American literature, but I know even more about what happens to some of the *depictors*, and, of course, especially what has happened to *this* depictor.

Let me say here that I am a little embarrassed over what I am about to do. I've been speaking and writing on the insularity of what Vardis Fisher called "the Eastern Literary Establishment," for about twenty-five years now, but I have never said much about my own experience

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vis-a-vis Eastern and urban literary establishments. Now I honestly feel that a brief examination of that experience is the most useful and appropriate way for me to spend your time this morning. So here I am, in my Calvin Klein, down-home, farm wife's denim shirt, preparing to talk a good deal more about myself than I'm particularly eager to do.

I'd like to emphasize that although many urban reviewers of my books have not always understood what I thought I wrote for them to understand, they *have* nearly always expressed a great deal of praise, and I'm not standing before you in my Calvin Klein denim as an author who feels any *personal* bitterness. Nevertheless, I long ago concluded that a novel set on an American farm frequently seems doomed to start about half a mile behind the starting post in the race for time and space from city reviewers. Listen to what Regina Dukas wrote of *The Bones of Plenty* in the *Oakland Tribune* (Aug. 5, 1962, EL-2): "It is a measure of Mrs. Hudson's talent that this reviewer, who usually becomes glassy-eyed at the mere mention of farms, found this book absorbing."

I can visualize a novel of the late 1980s . . . which could help consumers of farm products to *feel* the appalling rate at which we are losing topsoil.

Over the years, I've gotten a number of such backhanded compliments. A close Jewish friend of mine from New York City once said to me: "You write with such wonderful *sensitivity*. It's hard for me even to *imagine* a person from the *Midwest* with so much compassion and *sensitivity*!" These are the words of a brilliant graduate of Hunter College, mother of two brilliant children, wife of a brilliant Cornell professor. She herself was most assuredly a profoundly sensitive person. I couldn't believe I was hearing her speak those words to me! Now I am going to evoke an analogy that I hope no one will see as trivializing the suffering of black people in this country, but I cannot help seeing some similarity to what my "successful" black friends tell me they often hear from members of the white establishment: "You have really made a success of your life. You're so different from most of the other black people I've known."

Here I am, folks. I've made it and left behind all the other farmers. *My* denim is Calvin Klein.

My editor at the Atlantic Monthly Press was Emily Morison Beck, daughter of our famous historian Samuel Eliot Morison. She was, I may say, considerably more "sensitive" than many of the Eastern Literary Establishment people I have known, and yet she queried me, regarding the first draft of *The Bones of Plenty*, "Would a man like Will Shepard know a word like *debacle*?" This put me into such a rage that I couldn't write for two days! Will Shepard is modelled on my grandfather, to whom the novel is dedicated. He loved to make up stories, to write poetry and to play word games. He introduced me to the game of Anagrams when I was six. I can still hear him laughing when I managed to take away one of his words. And I still suffer when I think how I ultimately failed him. I replaced "debacle" with "final disaster"—a substitution that has chafed me for many years because of the many things it symbolizes to me.

I must add here that Wendy Beck became very interested in the continent that lay to the west of the Charles River because of our work together on my manuscript, for we *did* become good friends by letter. From the time she was a little girl, her family had always vacationed either in Europe or at the summer home on Mount Desert Island in Maine, which had been owned by the Harvard Eliots and Morisons for generations.

. . . the Joads fit the picture that the Town Mouse had of the Country Mouse.

My book, she told me, inspired her to persuade her husband and two children to explore some of the rest of their own country, and for the *first* time they came west—to a dude ranch in Wyoming. They *loved* it! From that summer on, the children insisted that part of their vacation be spent in the West, and Emily sent me pictures of them all riding in the Grand Tetons.

You may say that a very expensive dude ranch in Wyoming does not give an Eastern city person much sense of what a *farm* is like, but I can only reply, "Look how *far one* book moved *one* family—a very powerful family of the liter-

ary and intellectual world." And at least they had to fly over a lot farm country to get there!

If we consider that the separation between a rural consciousness and an urban consciousness may be almost as dangerous to our society as the separations between Jew and Gentile, or black and white, then we certainly might hope that literature could play a part in enlarging the imaginations of city people, just as it has certainly played a most significant part in bringing Jew and Gentile, black and white closer together. Surely there are many problems that urban dwellers must come to understand, one way or another, better than most of them now do, and surely serious fiction writers could do much to aid their acquisition of that understanding. I can certainly visualize a best-selling novel of the late 1980s—a novel of all the philosophical and aesthetic universals any critic could ask for—which could help millions of consumers of farm products to *feel*, for example, the appalling rate at which we are losing topsoil. In *Soil and Survival* (Paddock, Paddock, and Bly, p. 7) the authors tell us: "The greatest concentration of prime farmland in the United States—perhaps in the world—exists in the state of Iowa. After one century of agricultural activity, the topsoil of Iowa is half gone.... An Iowa farmer, on the average, loses two bushels of topsoil for every bushel of corn grown."

Certainly there is material here for a major epic. But how do we get the great book past the glassy-eyed publishing establishment?

When I was a young child during the dust storms of the '30s, so much of our ravaged High Plains blew east in the planet's mighty eastward spinning that the streetlights in New York City were turned on at noon. That catastrophe *did* speak to Eastern city dwellers; some of them at least could understand very clearly, in the darkness of the continent's life passing over them, the connection between food and the land. But the connections they made were not always based on the most accurate information—much of that information given to many of them by a single book that instantly became the critics' darling—*The Grapes of Wrath*.

In his book *Ill Fares the Land*, published a few months after Steinbeck's book, in 1939, Carey McWilliams devoted a chapter to "The Joads at Home." He pointed out that Steinbeck himself lacked any clear grasp of the situation from which the Joads had fled. He emphasized how different were the history and conditions of the Joads from those of the great majority of Midwestern farmers. At the turn of the century, their destitute parents had settled on lands taken by the government from Native Americans in the chaotic rush of the "Sooners" into eastern Oklahoma. (Steinbeck even misplaced the county of the Joads' farm.) "Economical farm units," McWilliams writes, were impossible because the land "was broken up into odd-sized fragments and the region was soon dotted with tiny holdings of ten, fifteen, and twenty acres. The typical farms of eastern Oklahoma were too small to begin with. Most of them should have been twice as large; some might have been five times as large in order to create a unit of land with productive capacity adequate to support a family." And "since the Indian lands" situated among the Sooners' farmsteads "were nontaxable, it became extremely difficult to support public schools. Illiteracy became the norm; literacy the exception."

Despite the very *a*typical situation of the Joads, and the very *un*typical Joads themselves, it was the book about *these* people from this one relatively small region of the Great Plains that told most members of the Eastern Literary Establishment—those who publish, promote and review books for all the urban readers in this wide continent (Ever notice, for example, how many reviews in your local newspaper are the syndicated work of some New York reviewer?)—it was *this* book that told those people all they felt they needed to know about what was happening all the way from Illinois to Utah, all the way from North Dakota to the Gulf of Mexico. After all, *The Grapes of Wrath* gave to the city people precisely the rural people they expected to see.

No *city* reviewer *expects* the same artistic quality in "the farm novel" that she or he expects in books with other settings.

In my native state of North Dakota, which has a tradition of providing superior education to its widely scattered families in the face of monumental obstacles, illiteracy was *never* "the norm."

(I can absolutely attest to that, as the great-niece of one schoolmaster, the niece of another, the niece of two schoolmistresses, and the daughter of one country schoolmistress!) But the Joads fit the picture that the Town Mouse had of the Country Mouse. And to the extent that city people bought the image of the Joads and their predicament, and, more important still, the *causes* of their predicament, as typical of us all—to *that* extent they failed to comprehend or contemplate the overwhelming responsibility of our economic system for the debacle that was blasting the land. Instead, they could attribute that debacle to the ignorance of millions of "illiterate" farmers.

Oh, how ancient is this urban dweller's dismissal of any rural knowledge, wisdom, quality of life—how ancient the urban dweller's dismissal of any of the rural resources which escape his ignorant cognizance. It goes back at least as far as Aesop's fable of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse—or about 2500 years. (I guess I should have tried to take the long view when I was so profoundly hurt by my high school classmates' favorite casual term of contempt: "That *farmer*!")

Now and then, the serious artist using a farm setting for his or her work *does* get some real encouragement. When the Atlantic Monthly Press sent a copy of my collect of short stories, *Reapers of the Dust*, to another Atlantic author, Katherine Anne Porter, here is what she wrote back to our publisher:

> Mrs. Hudson has written an answer in pure human speech to the subhuman characters in *Grapes of Wrath* or *Tobacco Road*.... Maybe this is because she is within her scene, a living part of it, and not a tourist with a notebook.... The freshness of her eye, the living abundance of her memory, the depths of her love of life and her complete frankness and lack of illusion about it, without bitterness: these traits and qualities are rare.... Mrs. Hudson, simply by the positive act of searching her heart and her mind and her own unique vision of her life in this time and this place, has taken the first step to pulling down the grubby little notion that the poor, the disinherited, the ignorant, are always and ever indecent, obscene, foul in word and deed, the object of condescension, ridicule and sentimental blubberings.

I wish the eloquent Miss Porter, whose work I admire immensely, had gone on to insist that a rural person's *human* experience is not so very different from the *human* experience of all of the rest of us. I wish *some* writer who was admired by city people would somehow get to all the city reviewers who get "glassy-eyed at the mere mention of farms" and convince them that the only limits to the "universality" of a writer's work are that writer's own limitations, and have nothing to do with his or her setting. I'd like to quote one reviewer who *did* say this. Oh, how happy he made me!

Curtis Harnack wrote in *The Nation* (March 1, 1965), reviewing my short story collection:

> Steinbeck's ideas cluster under the aegis that the purpose of literature should be to bring about change in the conditions of social existence. His characters are one-dimensional types fleshed in to serve the thesis of the book, whereas Mrs. Hudson operates under no such limitations.
>
> One has only to reread *The Grapes of Wrath*, with its souped-up prose and its calculated pitch to the times, to see that Steinbeck's sensibilities about his material were so shallow that the book can now have only historic interest. The Joads are *blobs of humanity*, deserving pity, caught as they are by changing technology in agriculture; uneducated and unskilled, they are the victims of big business and other manipulators of society; union organizing is presented with appropriate emotionalism as the only hope. Admittedly this book speaks of its time, but in tract fashion.... Because Mrs. Hudson writes out of the penetrating knowledge of personal experience, her work and Steinbeck's are as wide apart as journalism and art. The girl's father, for instance, is a man of ideas, humor, intelligence, and considerably more aware of what is happening around him than the colorful but dim-witted Pa Joad.... Her first novel, *The Bones of Plenty*, was hailed by a reviewer in *The New*

York Times as '*the farm novel*' of the depression, though by using such a phrase that reviewer betrayed a misunderstanding of the intentions of any serious literary artist: *he confused the setting and materials of the book with the total purpose of the work.* Mrs. Hudson's probing does not stop with the revelation of how things were, and how they might have been different if the *social forces* had not operated in such a cruel manner: her interest is in the human condition itself, and the pain and sharpness felt by any life that veers close to the bone. In these fat days, this is the discussion she wishes to raise. The Great Depression, as happens in all calamities, brought about a heightened sense of the human predicament—a predicament that cannot ever be totally solved by reform movements or proper unionization. Her final interests are more metaphysical than social. [My italics.]

Mr. Harnack's review suggests that if a writer's "setting and materials" deal with farms and farmers, no city reviewer *expects* the book to deal with the universal human predicament—as, of course, that reviewer *would* expect a praiseworthy novel set in a *city* to do. No *city* reviewer expects the same artistic quality in "the farm novel" that she or he expects in books with other settings.

In one of the wonderful coincidences that a fiction writer doesn't dare use, but which are always occurring in real life, John Steinbeck was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature the very year my novel was published. The presentation speech by the Secretary of the Swedish Academy particularly cited "the great work that is principally associated with Steinbeck's name, the epic chronicle *The Grapes of Wrath*." Because of its reception by city reviewers and readers, that novel is likely to go on being the major source of images most city people have of *all* the farm people of that terrible time—and of American farm people in general. Therefore, I can't resist adding one nasty note here. The Nobel presentation speaks of Steinbeck's "great feeling for nature," particularly as it is in *Travels with Charley*, published just a few months before Steinbeck was awarded the prize in 1962. On page 62 of this book, written by this lover of the American landscape, these words appear: "On my boat I had discovered the aluminum, disposable cooking utensils, frying pans and deep dishes. You fry a fish and throw the pan overboard. I was well equipped with these things."

In 1963, my novel was awarded the first prize by the Friends of American Writers in Chicago. My acceptance speech was ironically titled "The Obsolete Planet." The five hundred people in the audience would not let me sit down when I had finished. I kept standing and taking another bow and sitting down, and they kept on applauding. (It's the closest I'll ever get to knowing how Vladimir Horowitz felt when he returned to Moscow!) That was before magazines and newspapers were publishing much of anything about what we were doing to our precious planet, and the audience was so grateful to hear somebody on that subject that they just kept clapping in happy astonishment. Encouraged by such a reception, I modified the speech into a short essay and submitted it to *Harper's* and *The Atlantic*. They said it certainly was a provocative and powerfully written piece, but they couldn't use it. If the recent Nobel Prize winner had submitted it, I'm sure either of them would have snapped it up.

My own experience leads me to worry that fewer and fewer good books which don't fit the Eastern Literary Establishment's criteria—whatever they are!—will ever have a chance to be published, marketed, reviewed, and *read*, nationwide. In Spiller's *Literary History of the United States* (Third Edition Revised, p. 1312), *all* of Steinbeck's work is described as being a "simplification of experience." Nevertheless, because Steinbeck's images of us farmers coincide with those that urban readers and reviewers have been educated to *expect*, my own expectation is that those images will continue to constitute the canon lined up on the shelves of the university bookstores, not to mention the shelves of B. Dalton, Walden, and Crown.

I'm out of time, with a great deal more to say. I'll close by suggesting that you ponder the implications of a current fad which may have escaped your attention. *COWS ARE IN!* My urban postman brings me a mail-order catalog three or four times a week (remember when it was

just us country bumpkins who ordered our gifts and necessities from Sears and Monkey Ward's?), and for the last few months, every one of these catalogs has offered the urban shopper a remarkable array of cows on towels, washcloths, wreaths, trays, and T-shirts, or cows as ceramic mugs, milk pitchers, coffee pots, candleholders, and salt and pepper shakers. I'm really not sure what this sudden elevation of the cow into high urban fashion bodes for the cow—and perhaps for all the rest of us as well. I *do* know that before this current craze, the most recent towel and rug and T-shirt craze in all my catalogs featured the dinosaur.

Non-Extractive Employment Outside Metropolitan Areas

Edwin S. Mills*
Gary Chodes*

This paper is concerned with employment outside metropolitan areas in non-extractive sectors. Non-extractive employment in non-metropolitan areas is a mouthful of negatives. Before boring you with terminological niceties, we want to persuade you that we intend to address an interesting and important issue.

According to the 1987 World Development Report, 26 percent of the U.S. population lives in rural areas, whereas only 4 percent of the working population works in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Taken naively, those figures imply that only 15 percent of the rural work force is employed in extractive sectors, excluding mining. Thus, the identification of rural with agriculture is about 85 percent wrong!

Furthermore, the U.S. appears to be in a class by itself in this regard. We all know that the percentage of the workforce in extractive sectors falls and the percentage of the population that is urban rises during the course of economic development. But it appears to be less widely appreciated that the former falls more rapidly than the

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latter rises. Table 1 shows the percentage of the rural workforce that is employed in agriculture for the major groups of countries classified by the World Bank. Also shown, for comparison purposes, are the number of countries in each group and GNP per capita in each group. In the low income economies, 92.3 percent of the rural population is agricultural. The percentage falls only slightly through the two groups of middle income countries. For the industrial market economies, of which the U.S. is a member, the

. . . the identification of rural with agriculture is about 85 percent wrong.

percentage drops to 28, still nearly twice the U.S. percentage.

One might think that the phenomenon results in good part from the low U.S. population density. That implies that rural areas are vast, and many rural places are too far from urban places to travel conveniently for shopping and other "urban" type business activities, goods and services. To show that this is not the explanation, we have included the percentages for Australia and Canada, the two other high income countries with extremely low population densities. In Australia, half the rural population is in agriculture! In Canada, the percentage is 21.7. Canada has the second smallest percentage of rural population in agriculture, but it is nevertheless 40 percent greater than the U.S. percentage.

Thus the issue that we identify for analysis is that 85 percent of the U.S. rural population is non-agricultural. Not only is that an extremely large percentage, but also it is greater than anywhere else in the world. The vast majority of rural workers in the U.S. are engaged in activities normally thought of as urban. The issue we wish to discuss is: what are these rural workers doing and why do they live in rural areas; why are there so many rural non-extractive workers in the U.S.?

We recognize that the comparisons in Table 1 are crude, and if the numbers were not so disparate, we would not make much of them. In the first place, definitions of "urban" and "rural" vary somewhat among countries. Second, the numerators used to calculate the percentages in Table 1 are percentages of workers in agriculture and related sectors, whereas the denominators are percentages of people living in rural areas. The comparison is not kosher if labor force participation rates differ between rural and urban areas (which they probably do). Third, we must be careful about urban and rural concepts. Some workers live in rural areas and work in urban areas, or vice versa. Finally, the data in Table 1 were computed from population data pertaining to 1985, whereas the employment sector data pertain to 1980.

Thus we need to define some terms.

Definitions. The best U.S. data refer not to urban and rural concepts, but to metropolitan and non-metropolitan concepts. That is a very important distinction. A Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) consists of a set of contiguous counties that have a central city of at least 50,000 residents, are all predominantly urban in character and relate in important ways to the central city. An urban place is a place containing at least 2500 residents and having urban characteristics. A small urban place may contain many residents who work elsewhere, and many people who work

Table 1. Rural Agriculture Workers by Income of Country

Number of Countries		GNP Per Capita (U.S. $)	Percent of Rural Labor Force in Agriculture
37	Low Income Economies	00270	92.3
3	Lower Middle Income	01290	85.9
23	Upper Middle Income	01850	82.9
19	Industrial Mkt Economies	11,810	28.0
—	Australia	10,830	50.0
—	Canada	13,680	21.7
—	U.S.	16,690	15.4

Source: World Bank (1987).

Table 2. Places of Work and Residence, U.S. Workers, 1980 (000)

	Worked Inside MSA	Worked Outside MSA	Total
Lived Inside MSA	65,755 (75.6%)	1,018 (1.2%)	66,773 (76.7%)
Lived Outside MSA	1,974 (2.3%)	18,277 (21.0%)	20,251 (23.2%)
Total	67,729 (77.8%)	19,295 (22.2%)	87,024 (100.0%)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1980).

there may live elsewhere. Furthermore, comprehensive data on place of work are not available for residents of urban places.

For our purposes, we want data for large generic urban areas. The census concept of an urbanized area is ideal, but not much information is available. MSAs, since they consist of complete counties, yield much richer data, including most particularly a complete matrix of place of work and place of residence.

However, it must be remembered that urban and MSA populations are by no means the same. Many urban residents live outside of MSAs and some MSA residents are rural. In fact, on average, about half the land in MSAs is rural. Rural MSA land is predominantly in the outer parts of counties farthest from central cities, but nevertheless within the MSA. The importance of this anomalous situation is indicated by the statistic that about half of the workers who work in extractive sectors (agriculture, forestery, fisheries and mining) work in MSA counties!

A final technical issue. Most of the data in the following sections refer to people who were (1) employed and at work and (2) reported their place of work in the 1980 census. A few people report to the census taker that they are employed but are not at work during the census week because of temporary layoffs or sickness. A larger number of people report that they are employed and at work, but do not report their place of work.

Data. Table 2 shows origin-destination data for all workers who were at work and reported place of work in the 1980 census. The percentage that each figure is of the total is shown in parentheses beneath that figure. The two columns show where people worked and the two rows show where they lived. The diagonals show that 97 percent of workers either lived and worked in MSAs or lived and worked outside MSAs. Thus, only 3 percent of workers commuted between MSAs and non-MSAs. (Some MSA residents, nevertheless, commute between MSAs.) The lower left entry shows that 2.3 percent of workers (9.7 percent of those who reside outside of MSAs) commuted to jobs in MSAs. About half as many workers commuted from MSA residences to non-MSA jobs as commuted from non-MSA residences to MSA jobs. Interestingly, 2 to 1 is also about the ratio of workers who commute between suburban homes and central city jobs to those commuting from the central city to suburban work. This suggests that about twice as many workers commute inwards as outwards, at a variety of distances from major employment centers. The key result from Table 2 is that more than 90 percent of workers who lived outside MSAs also worked outside MSAs. Thus, it is not true that a large number of workers live outside MSAs for lifestyle or amenity reasons and commute to jobs in MSAs.

. . .it is not true that a large number of workers live outside MSAs for lifestyle or amenity reasons and commute to jobs in MSAs.

Sectors of non-MSA workers. Table 2 shows that those workers living outside the MSAs constituted 95 percent of the total number of people who worked outside MSAs. In this section we concentrate on workers who both live and work outside MSAs.

Table 3 shows exhaustive employment sectors of workers who both live and work outside MSAs. The national percentages in each sector are shown in the right-hand column for comparison. Less than 12 percent of non-MSA workers are employed in extractive sectors. (The total

Table 3. Sectors of Total Non-MSA Employment, 1980

	Number of Workers (000)	Percent of Non-MSA Worker	Percent of National Workers
Construction	1,144	6.3	5.7
Manufacturing	4,121	22.5	22.5
Transportation, Communication, Public Utilities (TCPU)	1,063	5.8	7.2
Wholesale	603	3.8	4.3
Retail	2,932	16.0	16.0
Finances, Insurance, Real Estate (FIRE)	686	3.8	6.1
Business & Repair Service (BRS)	465	2.5	4.2
Personal Services	637	3.5	3.1
Professional Services	3,669	20.0	20.6
Public Administration	839	4.6	5.4
Extractive	2,117	11.6	5.0
TOTAL	18,277	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1980).

number of non-MSA extractive workers, about 2.1 million, is nearly half the total number of workers employed in that sector. The other half mostly work in MSAs; a few did not report place of work.)

The extractive sector is only the fourth largest sector of employment of non-MSA workers. Manufacturing is the largest, almost twice as large as the extractive sector. Second largest is professional services, and third is retailing. It is perhaps surprising that FIRE, BRS and personal services, all sectors that to some extent serve farming, are the three smallest employers of non-MSA workers.

The right-hand column of Table 3 presents the national percentages by the same sectors for comparison. It is extraordinary how closely the sectoral distributions of non-MSA workers reflect the national distribution. The three largest sectors employ almost exactly the same percentages of non-MSA workers as they do of all workers. The non-MSA and national percentages for construction, wholesaling, personal services, and public administration are all within one percentage point of each other. The notable exception is that extractive workers are 2.3 times as large a percentage of non-MSA workers as of all workers, and FIRE and BRS are substantially smaller percentages of non-MSA than of all workers.

Our conclusion is that not only are non-MSA workers primarily in non-extractive sectors, but their sectoral distribution is remarkably similar to the sectoral distribution of nationwide employment. We offer the following interpretative comments.

The incidence of construction employment in non-MSA areas is higher than in the country as a whole and probably reflects faster employment growth in non-MSA places during the decade. The result has been a large percentage of employment in non-MSA construction.

The equal shares of non-MSA and total manufacturing employment reflect the remarkable movement of manufacturing out of MSAs, which Carlino (1985) shows started in the 1950s.

TCPU has a higher national than non-MSA share. Not surprisingly, transportation has an MSA concentration, since much non-MSA travel is by car and most terminals for air, train, bus and truck transportation are in MSAs. Communication and public utilities may have less of an MSA concentration.

Retailing occupies identical percentages of total employment nationally and in non-MSA places. That surprised us, and indicates that virtually all non-MSA residents also shop in non-MSA areas. That wholesaling is a larger percentage of national than of non-MSA employment indicates that much of the non-MSA retailing

Table 4. Sectors of Regional Total and Non-MSA Workers, 1980

SECTOR	REGION							
	NORTHEAST	Non-MSA Region	NORTH CENTRAL	Non-MSA Region	SOUTH	Non-MSA Region	WEST	Non-MSA Region
Construction	5.1	4.2	5.4	4.7	6.8	7.2	7.6	6.2
Manufacturing	26.5	25.4	21.4	25.8	26.0	20.6	11.1	17.7
TCPU	5.2	7.2	5.7	6.8	5.6	7.3	7.1	7.3
Wholesale	2.6	4.1	3.7	4.3	3.3	4.3	2.9	4.3
Retail	16.4	15.1	16.5	16.4	15.1	15.9	17.6	16.8
FIRE	3.7	7.0	3.8	5.5	3.5	5.6	4.4	6.9
BRS	2.4	4.5	2.3	3.5	2.5	4.0	3.3	5.0
Pers. Svcs.	3.4	2.6	3.1	2.7	3.5	3.5	4.3	3.6
Prof. Svcs.	23.6	22.3	20.6	20.7	18.6	19.6	20.3	20.2
Public Admin.	4.9	5.0	3.7	4.1	4.4	6.3	7.0	5.8
Extractive	6.1	2.6	13.8	5.5	10.5	5.7	14.3	6.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1980).

sector acquires its merchandise from MSA wholesalers.

FIRE has the strongest MSA concentration of all 11 sectors. In some degree, computerization and electronic data transmission have freed finance and insurance establishments from MSA locations, and we will present data later in the paper to show that non-MSA employment is growing.

BRS is also heavily concentrated in MSAs. It is difficult to believe that the data are reflective of repair services, which must be as large a share of non-MSA as of MSA employment. Business services has been the rapidly growing subsector, and it may be growing outside MSAs.

The equal shares of non-MSA and total manufacturing employment reflect the remarkable movement of manufacturing out of MSAs . . .

Personal services have about the same non-MSA and national shares. It probably reflects the high incidence of domestic services in non-MSAs.

The large share of professional services in non-MSAs is extremely surprising (public school teachers are in this sector, not in public administration). Some health care institutions, e.g., nursing homes, are concentrated in non-MSA places, but they are not a large proportion of workers in this sector. In fact, education has the largest incidence of non-MSA workers among major subsectors in the professional services sector, followed by health care.

The non-MSA public administration percentage is surprisingly large. We do not know the breakdown between federal, state and local government employment.

The surprise about the extractive sector is not that its incidence is more than twice as great among non-MSA workers as it is nationally, but that half the sector's workers work in MSAs. Presumably, the explanation is in part that nursery workers are included in the sector. But there is also much intensive agriculture in the outer parts of MSAs, resulting from proximity to consumption centers and high land values.

Regional variations. As all rural specialists know, there is great regional diversity among rural characteristics and problems in the U.S. In this section, we address the issue whether the regional diversity shows up in the gross sectoral employment data analyzed in the previous section.

Table 4 presents data for the four Census regions that are precisely comparable with the national data in Table 3. Only percentages are presented to avoid cluttering the table. Also presented are the sectoral percentages for total employment in each region.

Once again, one is struck by the close resemblance between the non-MSA and total sectoral distribution of employment in the four regions. Only in the South is construction employment a larger share of total regional employment than of non-MSA employment. That is somewhat surprising considering the strength of non-MSA employment in manufacturing shown in the next line. Only in the North Central region and the West is manufacturing a larger share of total than of non-MSA employment. The strength of manufacturing employment in the non-MSA South is impressive.

As was true in the national data, the non-MSA share of TCPU employment is somewhat less than the total share in each region. Wholesaling is a larger share of total than of non-MSA employment in each region. Retailing is about the same share in non-MSA employment and total

Table 5. Employment change in MSAs and Non-MSAs 1960-70 and 1970-80 (Percentages)

	Total		Extractive		Manufacturing		Services*	
	1960-70	1970-80	1960-70	1970-80	1960-70	1970-80	1960-70	1970-80
U.S.	19.7	27.5	-32.2	13.6	10.0	10.5	32.2	35.7
MSAs	22.7	26.5	-22.4	23.3	5.8	7.4	34.6	34.5
Non-MSAs	11.3	30.7	-35.4	8.2	25.5	20.4	24.0	40.1

**Includes wholesale and retail, FIRE, BRS, personal services, professional services, TCPU and public administration.*

Source: McGranahan (1986), Appendix 16, p 58.

employment in each region. FIRE and BRS are larger shares of total than of non-MSA employment in each region. Personal services closely follow the national pattern in each region, as do professional services and public administration. Interestingly, public administration is the largest share of total employment in the South, a region not usually thought of as one of large state and local governments.

The extractive sector is, of course, much less important in the Northeast than in other regions. In the other three regions, however, it is about 2.3 to 2.5 times as large a share in non-MSA employment as it is in total regional employment, which is about the relationship found for the country as a whole. Only in the South is this pattern not found; there the extractive sector employment share is less than twice as large for non-MSAs as it is for the region as a whole. Basically, this reflects the large relative share of manufacturing employment in the non-MSA parts of the South.

In summary, only wholesaling, FIRE and BRS have consistently and substantially larger employment shares in the nation or the region than they have in non-MSA places. Only the extractive sector has consistently larger employment shares in non-MSA areas than in the country as a whole or its regions.

The 1960s witnessed the largest drop in agricultural and other extractive employment in history . . .nearly one-third in 10 years.

Historical trends. The burden of this paper has been that (1) most workers both live and work within MSAs, or both live and work outside MSAs; (2) only 5 percent of workers are in the extractive sector; (3) the percentage of workers in the extractive sector is only a little more than twice as great in non-MSAs as in the entire country; and (4) the employment distribution at the one-digit SIC Code level is remarkably similar for non-MSA workers and for the country as a whole. Undoubtedly, employment data at the two- and three-digit level would reveal greater sectoral differences both regionally, and between non-MSAs and the country as a whole. The data analyzed so far have pertained entirely to 1980. The picture painted for that year is quite different from that 10 or 20 years earlier. Summary growth rate data are presented in Table 5.

The data in Table 5 all tell a dramatic story. Total employment grew faster during the 1970s than during the 1960s, because of the entrance of large numbers of baby boomers into the labor force. MSAs grew as a share of the total employment (and population) during the 1960s, but shrank during the 1970s.

The 1960s witnessed the largest drop in agricultural and other extractive employment in the history of the country, and presumably in the history of the world: nearly one-third in 10 years. The 1970s saw modest recovery, entirely in the mining subsector. The decrease during the 1960s was much greater outside MSAs than inside, and the recovery during the 1970s was much faster inside than outside MSAs. To some extent, we have witnessed the "metropolitanization" of agriculture.

Growth in manufacturing employment was modest both during the 1960s and during the 1970s. However, it was three or four times as fast outside MSAs as inside. We have witnessed the "demetropolitanization" of manufacturing on a large scale.

The service sector was the great engine of growth, both during the 1960s and during the 1970s. However, during the 1960s, service sector employment grew much faster in MSAs than outside, whereas during the 1970s it grew considerably faster outside MSAs than inside. During the 1970s, non-MSA service sector employment grew 40 percent, the largest number in the table.

We can summarize the dramatic 20-year episode of economic history as follows. From 1960 to 1970, the U.S. experienced a massive transfer of jobs from extractive to service sectors. During the 1960s, most of the horde of workers, whose extractive sector jobs disappeared, migrated to MSAs and found service sector employment there. (Some stayed in MSAs because their vanishing extractive sector jobs had previously been located there. But the sectoral shift was the same.) During the 1970s, slow growth in extractive sectors still entailed large migration of extractive sector workers and their offspring to service sectors. However, during the 1970s, service sector jobs came to non-MSA locations, instead of workers coming to MSA locations to find service sector jobs, as during the 1960s. We strongly suspect that the trends have continued

since 1980, although we do not now have the data.

Before leaving this historical comparison, it is important to point out that the massive and often painful transformation shown in Table 5 has resulted in great benefits to the non-MSA population. In 1959, median family income in non-MSAs was 69.1 percent of its level in MSAs; in 1979, it was 79.4 percent. Thus, non-MSA incomes have risen considerably faster than MSA incomes, at least for families.

A large mutual fund can be managed in Buena Vista, Colorado with the same technical efficiency as on Wall Street.

Speculations. We conclude the paper with some speculations about our findings. The key question is why so much employment growth in non-extractive sectors, especially services, occurred in non-MSAs during the 1970s, whereas such growth was much more heavily concentrated in MSAs during the 1960s.

First, it appears to be possible to reject the hypothesis that most such growth has been near MSAs, and that the government has simply been slow to adjust MSA boundaries to reflect the extent to which they have spread out. If that were true, there would probably be more commuting between MSA and non-MSA places than was reported in Table 2. Perhaps more persuasive, Carlino and Mills (1987) undertook a large study of employment and population growth among the 3000 counties in the 48 contigous states from 1970 to 1980. In all versions of our model that were estimated, counties that were adjacent to MSAs were less attractive to jobs and residents that were non-adjacent counties. Finally, data presented by McGranahan et al. (1986) indicate only slightly faster employment growth in adjacent than in non-adjacent counties during the 1970s, but much faster adjacent growth during the 1960s.

Loosely speaking, workers came to MSA jobs during the 1960s, whereas MSA-type jobs came to non-MSA workers during the 1970s. Much ink has been spilled on this chicken-egg issue. Carlino and Mills concluded that jobs came to workers more often than workers came to jobs during the 1970s. That is consistent with the findings in earlier sections of this paper, but it is not obvious why the causal pattern should have been different from the 1960s.

Most important characteristics usually thought to affect migration were unchanged between the two decades. Taxes have long been lower outside than inside MSAs, unions have been weaker, land has been cheaper, crime rates lower, life style slower, and so forth. Employment grew faster during the 1970s than during the 1960s, but most of the growth was in sectors with strong traditional MSA ties, so that fact by itself appears not to provide an explanation.

One characteristic that was certainly different in the 1970s from the 1960s is the Interstate Highway System. The Interstate system was less than 25 percent complete by 1960, but was 75 percent complete by 1970. Its effect was to dramatically increase mobility of both people and goods. The network made many non-MSA locations accessible by road to major MSA centers within two or three hours, and was probably a factor in the non-MSA growth of manufacturing employment in both the 1960s and 1970s. Carlino and Mills found that counties that were well-served with Interstates grew faster than those that were not during the 1970s, other things being equal. Nevertheless, one might have expected more growth concentrated in adjacent counties if that were the primary explanation. In addition, much of the growth during the 1970s was in service sectors, in which goods movement is relatively unimportant. But the Interstates were undoubtedly important in facilitating non-MSA growth of manufacturing, probably during both the 1960s and the 1970s.

It seems almost laughable to suggest that the cause of the growth was to service the "predominant" agricultural and other extractive sectors in non-MSA places. For one thing, extractive sectors were, by 1980, hardly predominant in non-MSA counties. For another thing, the extremely rapid non-MSA service sector growth during the 1970s came on the heels of a massive decrease in extractive sector employment outside MSAs during the previous decade.

The traditional view of services is that their delivery to customers requires face-to-face contact, thus necessitating proximate locations of producers and consumers. That has never been true of all services. Mail order sales have long been important in retailing, corporation stock purchases by telephone have been common, and

patients have long traveled substantial distances for elective surgery in hospitals. Nevertheless, the growth of electronic data processing and communication is believed to have increased the potential for long distance sale of services. A large mutual fund can be managed in Buena Vista, Colorado with the same technical efficiency as on Wall Street.

The question to be raised here is whether technical progress, especially in computers and related areas, has contributed to the growth of service sector employment outside MSAs during the 1970s, permitting non-MSA locations of institutions that provide services to MSA residents. To consider this issue, return to the sectoral classification in Table 3.

TCPU is a relatively small employment sector nationally, and its share of total employment has fallen by 50 percent during the postwar period. Thus, it could not have contributed much to growing, non-MSA, service sector employment. The same is true of wholesaling; it is a small and declining sector in terms of national employment share. Retailing is a large sector with a stable national employment share. Although it has been affected by the electronic revolution, that has probably not accounted for much non-MSA employment growth. Instead, it is probably true that non-MSA employment growth in retailing has been to meet the needs of a growing non-MSA population. FIRE and BRS have grown rapidly since the 1960s as shares of national employment. Their non-MSA employment growth rates were 73.6 and 79.1 percent, respectively. Many institutions that supply services in finance, insurance, and business services can provide services for MSA customers from non-MSA locations with the help of electronic data transmission. In those sectors, the electronic revolution has probably been a boon both to national and to non-MSA employment growth.

Personal services is a small and shrinking national employment share. Thus, although it is strongly represented, its non-MSA employment shrank 9 percent during the 1970s.

Professional services is a large employment share, both nationally and in non-MSA places. Furthermore, professional services employment grew rapidly during the 1960s. Two of its largest subsectors, educational and health services, had national employment growth rates of 44.1 and 70.7 percent during the 1970s. Their growth rates in non-MSA areas were 47.2 and 74.1 percent. Those are impressive statistics, but they probably had little to do with the electronic revolution. Education is almost entirely a face-to-face activity, as is health care. With health care, nursing homes located outside MSAs may have been a major source of non-MSA employment growth. We have no explanation as to why educational employment should have grown so rapidly, either nationally or in non-MSA areas, during the 1970s.

Our conclusion is that technology has probably had some modest effect in enabling employment to locate in non-MSAs in a few important and rapidly growing service sectors. But that does not explain why firms in such sectors have wanted to locate outside MSAs. Cheaper land costs, taxes, and wages may have been factors. If employees prefer to live in non-MSA areas, their wages are lower than in MSAs, and firms are induced to locate there as it becomes technically feasible.

At the present, the analysis in the previous paragraph must be regarded as speculation. Only additional research can verify or reject it.

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Rural Economic Development: Opportunities and Obstacles

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There has been a recent revival of governmental interest in rural economic development—spurred by the abrupt decline in rural welfare in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Two factors seem to differentiate this revival of interest from past such episodes:

- shifting responsibility for rural development programs from federal to state governments, and
- fundamental structural change in rural economic conditions.

Shifting Responsibility. Federal programs targeted to rural areas are heavily skewed toward the farm sector. Almost three-quarters of all such federal expenditures are accounted for by agricultural commodity programs [John, 1987b, p. 42]. But the importance of this federal role in rural America is changing.

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Portions of this paper draw from sections of "The Role of State Programs in Rural Development" [Batie, 1987] and "A Brighter Future for Rural America?" [John, Batie and Norris, 1988].

While the federal commitment to maintaining commercial farm incomes appears surprisingly robust, it is no longer true that farm policy equates with a national rural development policy. Almost 90 percent of the farm operator families have more income from off-farm sources than from farming. Thus, the current structure of farming is heavily dependent on non-farm employment opportunities. Furthermore, the narrow focus of farm programs on portions of the agricultural sector neglect the diversity that characterizes rural America. Glen Pulver notes that: "Although agriculture remains a critical industry (21.1 percent of the jobs in the United States are agriculturally related), the personal income generated by farming is of declining importance even in the most farm-dependent states. A healthy farm economy will influence the immediate employment prospects of less than half the people who call rural America home [Pulver, 1988, p.1]".

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Also, the Reagan administrations's emphasis on federalism has resulted in decreased support for federal economic development programs. Programs such as the Urban Development Action Grants, Farmers Home Administration, Tennessee Valley Authority, Appalachian Regional Commission, Community Development Block Grants, the Small Business Administration, and the Economic Development Administration have all had major budget reductions under the Reagan Administration. The agencies now spend much of their remaining energy resisting further cuts [John, 1987b]. The federal government has also decreased grant-in-aid assistance to state and local governments.[1]

The inability of farm programs to redress rural decline, coupled with the general retreat of the federal presence in other rural development programs, has left a vacuum—which is increasingly forcing state governments to develop their own responses to rural needs. States are increasing their rural development activities—in many cases taking on roles formerly in the purview of the federal government.

States face many obstacles in designing improved rural development programs. In addition to limited funds, many states lack institutional capacity for rural development assistance. Since many of the federal development programs have been based on partnerships of federal agencies with local development authorities[2]—bypassing the state agencies—state governments have limited experience in meeting new rural needs. Many state governments, while under considerable pressure to respond to the rural recession, remain uncertain as to how to proceed.

In the early 1980s, few states had rural initiatives. What experience existed at the state level tended to be less than effective for the conditions of the 1980s. Existing state agencies have been mainly regulatory, and have tended to address agricultural or mining concerns. Those state economic development agencies which existed tended to be urban in their orientation. An urban orientation to state development strategies results from the highly competitive environment of state-level recruitment. Industrial recruiters must "lead with their most attractive sites and most alluring amenities, because if they do not, the best prospects will simply move on to hear the next state's pitch. In today's market, the most attractive sites are in or near metropolitan areas" [Gilmer and Pulsipher, 1986]. As a result, many development agencies in the early 1980s were not well acquainted with rural needs, potentials, and constraints. While some agencies have improved their rural development knowledge by 1988, many have not.

Also, the past efforts of the many state development agencies have been synonymous with creating a "good business climate" and with courting new industrial development. "Good business climates" were frequently defined as cheap, docile, non-union labor, low taxes, and minimal government interference [Cobb, 1986]. The "good business climate" policy has been equated by one author as "the third world" approach to development [Friedman 1988]. Policies tended to be those of industrial recruitment—sometimes re-

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ferred to as "elephant hunting" or "cargo cult" operations. "Like the natives of New Guinea who build runways in the jungle praying that American B-29s filled with modern gadgets would land again, as they had during World War II, local communities built industrial parks to attract new industries" [John, 1987b, p. 70].

With some exception, university faculty have offered little assistance to state officials in designing informed rural development programs. With limited grant funding and no perceived public need for rural development research in the 1970s, university faculty were not well-positioned in the 1980s to offer guidance to state governments on how to proceed with new rural initiatives.

The shifting emphasis of rural development leadership roles to state governments therefore presents considerable challenge. One response to this challenge has been through the National Governors' Association (NGA)—an association which represents the Governors of the 50 states as well as the commonwealths of Puerto Rico and the Northern Marianas Islands and the U.S. territories. The mission of NGA is to influence the development and implementation of national policy and to apply creative leadership to states' problems. This year the governors created an NGA Task Force entitled "The Restructuring of Rural America". While the report of this Task Force will not be released until August 1988, it will probably emphasize developing statewide economic development strategies, modernizing industrial recruitment practices, and customizing strategies for rural needs, as well as protecting the health of rural residents [Anonymous 1987]. NGA documents have emphasized a rural development philosophy:

"Federal and state assistance can help rural America diversify and improve its economy if: government initiatives are more tightly targeted to areas and people in need; programs complement the values of 'independence and self-determination which pioneered rural communities;' public initiatives, in the long run, do not counter the incentives of the marketplace: and local communities develop their own human resource and economic adjustment strategies" [Anonymous 1987, p. 2].

A significant feature of this philosophy is the emphasis on states' agendas — a change in roles from a decade ago — when, I believe, such a Governors' Task Force report would have focused mainly on the federal agenda.

Fundamental Structural Change. The development of state-level rural development strategies must address the fundamental structural change that characterizes rural economics. That is, while regional economies periodically grow and decline, there is evidence that the stress in rural America is not a cyclical phenomena, but rather is a response to fundamental, long-term structural changes. Basic economic conditions have changed.

Many of the economic changes buffeting rural areas emanate from outside the region: international currency exchange rates, the reorientation to a service economy, the rate of change of technology, and deregulation of transportation and communication.

Many rural areas are in danger of being left behind as the nation as a whole makes the shift to the services.

The first half of the decade of the 80s was a lesson in the importance of global competition to U.S. industries and clearly demonstrated that the welfare of Americans increasingly depends on the ability of U.S. business to compete in a global economy. The rural economies—so heavily reliant on manufacturing, mining, and farming—were seriously affected when the terms of trade adversely affected these economic sectors.

As a result of economic changes, rural residents—for the first time in two decades—did not have real economic improvements relative to urban residents. [Henry, et al., 1987]. Almost all rural regions suffered to some degree. Rural manufacturing, for example, includes many jobs particularly sensitive to competition from imports—over 30 percent of all rural manufacturing jobs were in apparel, textiles, wood products, leather, and shoes [Brown and Deavers, 1986]. The South, in particular, is heavily dependent on manufacturing. Nonmetropolitan southern counties have come to rely on textiles, apparel, food processing, and light metals. What had begun in the 1970s as a movement of labor-intensive industries to cheaper, offshore labor markets in re-

sponse to an unfavorable dollar exchange rate, appeared, by the 1980s to be a stampede [Winter, 1986]. As a result, unemployment levels in many rural southern counties are three or four times as high as neighboring metropolitan areas.

The recession in farming has been most severe in the North Central region—particularly the Great Plains. Rural counties in the Mississippi River Delta area, parts of the Southeast, and portions of the Northwest have also been vulnerable. The farm dependent regions are specialized and tend to lack resilience to respond to economic declines. Of the farming-dependent counties, 46 percent have no incorporated towns of 2,500 or more people, nor are they adjacent to a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) [Bender, *et.al.*, 1986]. Non-farm employment is therefore difficult to obtain.

Mining has experienced the same recession as manufacturing and farming—made worse by the collapse of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting countries (OPEC) oil cartel and the subsequent crash of energy prices. The mining-dependent counties are concentrated in the coal-producing areas of Appalachia and the Midwest, and in the oil-producing areas of Texas, Oklahoma, the Louisiana gulf coast, and the Northern plains states. They are also scattered throughout the Southeast and West as specialized mineral-producing counties [Bender, et.al., 1986]. In several states, counties obtain their income from both agricultural and mining uses of their resources. Despite modest recovery, states such as North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Texas are still experiencing recession and high unemployment in both of their major rural industries.

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The changes are not limited to increased international competition. For example, while most of the basic industries in the U.S. have declined in the 1980s, the service industry has been robust. Unfortunately for rural areas, they are at a disadvantage in a conversion to a service-based economy. Bluestone and Miller (1988) note that of a total of 45 services industries only ten are concentrated in rural areas; seven of these are oriented to residents (foodstores, auto dealers), while the others are agricultural service and railway or oil pipeline industries. Many rural areas are in danger of being left behind as the nation as a whole makes the shift to services. Henry, et.al., [1987] report, for example, that service jobs were about 15 percent of total rural employment at the end of 1984, compared with 22 percent of total urban employment. Seven out of every eight new service jobs in the economy in 1984 were added in metropolitan areas. Only in the rural counties that specialized in retirement communities, tourism, or government activities was the percentage increase in service jobs greater than in metropolitan areas.

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Advanced technological products also continue as an important growth area in U.S. businesses. Rapid technological change requires rapid adaption of workforce, of design and engineering capabilities, and of legal institutions (such as patents), as well as the provision of adequate venture capital. Rural areas do not generally compete well for high technology firms. For example, while there is virtually no research addressing the role of venture capital in influencing the location of high technology firms, it is known that venture capital is distributed very unevenly across regions. Three states—California, New York, and Massachusetts—account for approximately 60 percent of the total venture capital pool. While these states "export" venture capital elsewhere, the largest number of investments go to highly urbanized areas. Venture capital investments in total tend to be made in seven states—New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, California, Illinois, Minnesota, and Texas [Florida and Kenney, 1986].

It may be that the potential for rural regions to use venture capital networks is limited, at best. Perhaps the most successful example of public equity provision is the Massachusetts Technology Development Corporation. The corporation finances companies in an area which already receives a disproportionate share of private venture capital resources. It is doubtful that simply

providing public venture capital can compensate for the absence of a well-developed infrastructure, which would be the case in a lagging region [Florida and Kenney, 1986].

While the location of universities in rural areas may help to attract "footloose" knowledge-based industries, it still appears that much activity is associated with urban universities. One spectacular example is the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). MIT is surrounded by one square mile which has outperformed each of thirteen states in terms of job creation since 1980 [Hyatt, 1987].

Many analysts feel that much of the recent rural growth patterns are not a consequence of economic development programs in the past, but are rather the unanticipated result of a number of other policies, especially the expansion of social security and the completion of the interstate highway system. Similarly, many argue that the recent deregulation of transportation, banking and the communication system has worked to the disadvantage of rural areas [Pulver and Rodgers, 1986]. Pulver and Rodgers argue that low-volume, low-profit rural routes or rural markets are left unserved, or are served at higher rates. Rural areas are thus placed at an economic disadvantage.

There is no prescription for how to develop rural areas so that both jobs and economic well-being are enhanced.

If rural stress were due to business cycles only, recovery from the current rural recession might be forthcoming. There is strong evidence that recovery is not eminent; rural regions must organize to adjust to structural changes in the economy—a particularly challenging task.

State Programs and Rural Development

Much has begun to change in the rural development area—propelled by the perception of an acute need to assist rural America, and to redress past policies and an economic focus that have left healthy regional economies concentrated on the American Coasts—the so called "Bi-costal economy". States are now struggling to design cost-effective ways of revitalizing their rural economies, and they are experimenting with many different tactics for reclaiming economic health.

The more innovative of these state approaches involve a new style of competition for growth. The elements of the new style[4] tend to include:

- thoughtful economic development plans, or "strategic visions",
- a broad definition of business climate and infrastructure,
- new interest in existing businesses, small business and entrepreneurship, science and technology, as well as mature industries,
- targeting to areas of need, and
- new institutions to guide state initiatives.

Many states are developing planning documents which analyze the state's economy, articulate goals, and propose new economic development initiatives [John, 1987a]. For example, Pennsylvania prepared, with much public and private collaboration, an economic revitalization plan. The effort took two years and culminated in voter approval of a $190 million bond issue that was used to implement a broad range of development programs, such as research and development, university-based centers of applied industrial technology, venture capital, changes in tax and regulatory policies, and targeted assistance to distressed communities [John, 1987a]. Overall, state governments have quadrupled their spending on economic development agencies in the 1980s and are reorienting programs to better assist small businesses, to encourage science- and technology-based programs, to promote exports and international education, and to invest further in worker training [John, Batie, Norris, 1988].

Other states are rejecting the old definition of a good business climate as being synonymous with low taxes, docile labor force, and few regulations. More and more businesses want highly trained work forces, good schools, excellent infrastructure, and public recreation facilities. All these services require taxes. Increasingly companies are asking only that their taxes be proportional to the services they receive. Education is dramatically increasing in importance. "Good roads and airports are still important, but intellectual infrastructure is the key" [Osborne, 1987 p. 78]. Intellectual infrastructure translates into quality education. As Idaho Governor Cecil D. Andrus summarized: "Business cannot thrive

and compete in the cold winter of educational excellence. We must fund education, so our commerce department can brag about their children".

There is increasing recognition that small business and existing business expansion can play a major role in the growth and vitality of communities. Birch, in his widely quoted book, *The Job Generation Process*, demonstrated that between 1969 and 1976, businesses with fewer than twenty-five employees were responsible for two thirds of all new jobs [Birch as quoted by John 1987a]. Clarke found a wide variety of activities being pursued by states in support of small and new businesses [Clarke as quoted by John 1987a]. These activities include procurement assistance, venture capital, small business development center, technical assistance, and entrepreneurial training. States have also concerned themselves with the more mature industries, with dislocated worker programs, and labor-management initiatives.

States are increasingly recognizing that rural needs can be different from the needs of communities located near urban centers. Some are acting to customize the state assistance to target certain rural businesses, because not all of them are distressed. For example, areas near metropolitan centers, tourism-based, recreation-based, retirement- based and government-services-based economies are doing better than the others. Therefore, many states are designing programs to outreach only to the distressed communities.

In targeting communities, some states are promoting the creation of new institutions and new partnerships to better achieve their goals. These partnerships may be community college or extension service linkages with local leaders or business persons or they may be the use of private corporations. Indiana, for example, has used private corporations, whose boards are appointed by the governor, to provide a broad array of economic development programs including seed capital, equity and loan financing, entrepreneurship training, and applied research and development [Clark as reported by John 1987a].

Effectiveness of State Rural Development Efforts

While many states are experimenting with various rural development approaches, it is difficult to discern the difference between what states are doing and what they should be doing to achieve economic development. Rural development theory is not as powerful in "ex ante" sorting of rural development policies as would be desirable. In rural development economics, the joke—"that economists are people who see something working in practice and wonder if it will work in theory"—seems particularly apt.

State policy design frequently proceeds without much analysis of potential impacts and without a comprehensive process, and there are many political reasons that orient some state efforts to the "faddish", the short-run, and the visible. While experience can be a good substitute for analysis, and states can serve as "laboratories of democracy" with numerous "rural development experiments", "the trouble with learning by experience is that one needs so much of it" [Wildavsky, 1979 p. 125]. There is little attempt to evaluate various state approaches to determine which strategies work most effectively and why.

It may be that state's role in rural development relative to local government's is analogous to a kite flyer and kite: the states cannot push the kite along—but they can try to assure the kite is in optimal flying position. I have some evidence to support this view.

On my recent sabbatic leave with the National Governors' Association, I participated in a study that examined employment change in rural counties of several midwestern states—North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri. Using secondary data, we attempted to predict the employment growth of these rural counties as a function of fifteen variables. Less than 20 percent of the variance was explained by the model; however, we used the model to select counties that grew faster than predicted. Out of the original 548 rural counties, we selected 40 counties for further study.

The forty counties could be characterized in four groups—sixteen were "boom and bust" counties where employment growth could be traced to local construction projects or growth in gas, oil, or mining. Five counties' growth was due to nearby metro centers; eight were due to recreational amenities.

Only eight experienced employment growth

from 1979-84 that was not due to "boom-and-bust" conditions, metropolitan influences, or recreational development. We then visited these counties—plus eight more identified by state officials as high-growth—to determine how they had managed to obtain this unpredicted growth. We gathered information about these counties through over 200 interviews with state economic development officials, university extension specialists, city and county elected officials, local economic development professionals, business people, and other community residents, as well as owners or managers of farms.

As a result of this study we concluded that, for these counties, successful local economic development was a result of sustained community development efforts, pro-growth attitudes that assisted local firms as well as new recruits, and well-organized partnerships of local leaders who work for economic growth.

"The most successful communities can quickly assemble a team including the mayor, a bank executive, a utility executive, local plant managers and perhaps a full-time community development director. The group is well-versed and enthusiastic and presents a unified force. Members can answer questions on virtually any topic.... The team has the blessing of local government and someone from local government is always part of the group." [John, Batie, and Norris, 1988, p. 7].

Interestingly few of those interviewed saw the state as being a major factor in their success. The most important form of non-local assistance identified by local interviewers was financial aid—grants and loans for infrastructure, buildings or operating expenses, industrial revenue bonds, and in some cases, training funds for workers. It may well be that the local leaders underestimate the role played by the state in creating a conducive environment for growth. Yet, with so much development apparently dependent on local leadership, the state's most effective role is probably that of a catalyst—designing and positioning the "kite" for the best chance of a graceful flight. This can include creating change in institutions, anticipating and adapting to change, supporting and facilitating community-led growth (and decline) strategies, working through public-private partnerships, and building new federal-state alliances [John, Batie, and Norris 1988].6

Conclusion

As states contemplate what actions are affordable and effective in improving rural conditions, it would be ideal to be able to distinguish which state initiatives have been the most successful, what is the role of private or community action in alleviating rural distress, and what has been the role of national or international forces.

There is still no guideline that assures the economic development of rural areas [Bradshaw, 1986]. Improving economic well-being will probably not be accomplished by implementing a few simple ideas.

"Just as diversification is not a cure and specialization a curse, so too is access or infrastructure or enterprise zones or venture capital alone not the answer. The things we do not know about the development process confirm the belief that development is a complex web of the tangible and intangible. It consists of the interaction of what are customarily identified as economic factors with a host of cultural, social, attitudinal forces which distinguish individuals and areas from each other. The very complexity of the process should warn us against attempts to expect rapid results from the most well-meaning and well-structured programs. Impact of programs are usually incremental over time and diffused. One easy fix never works. In addition, the range of events that impact on the fortunes of an area are so large that we should not be surprised by a statistical or even conceptual inability to isolate the impact of any set of public actions on the goal-oriented measure of income, employment, or population change." [Newman,1987].

The current state of knowledge with respect to the importance of these factors is not definitive. There is no prescription for how to develop rural areas so that both jobs and economic well being are enhanced. There are, however, a large set of available options, but little guidance as to which options—coupled with which rural conditions of economic climate, market opportunities or resources—correlate with successful development. The constancy of change puts high priority on flexibility, experimentation, and analysis, as well as on creating a process to identify potential,

to finance adaptation or growth strategies that would otherwise not be financed, to develop needed worker and entrepreneurial skills for the jobs of the next decade.

Notes:

1. Since 1978, Federal grants-in-aid to state and local governments have dropped by several measures, falling from 17 percent to 11.2 percent of federal expenditures, from 26.8 to 21.2 percent of state and local government expenditures, and from 3.7 to 2.8 percent of GNP [John, 1987[5] citing Office of Management and Budget, 1986 Budget Special analysis, p. 11-19].

2. Federal farm programs, many Extension Service activities, Economic Development Administration Funds and Appalachian Regional Commissions Programs, for examples, mainly are directed to local participants. For the most part, the assistance by-passes state authority and is provided under the assumption that local governments and not state governments are the primary beneficiaries. (See John, 1987[5] for further discussion).

3. Gilmer and Pulsipher (1986) dispute this assertion and argue that, at least in the Tennessee Valley region, traditional, low-wage, labor intensive and standardized manufacturing is not disappearing from the region. They conclude: "bad times in rural manufacturing in the Tennessee Valley region appear to be generated by bad times and not by deindustrialization or structural economic changes" (p. 113).

4. This taxomomy is presented and discussed in John, 1987[5].

5. Sonya Salamon's research on midwest communities (1987) suggests that our research delineated what she termed "entrepreneurial communities." "Entrepreneurial" or "cumulative" communities are populated with individuals impelled by economic motives and shaped by individual entrepreneurial vision. She distinguishes these communities from "covenant" communities which are populated by individuals sharing a philosophical agreement of purpose and who represent a relatively homogenous ethnic and religious group. While covenant communities tend to remain small and even reject growth possibilities, entrepreneurial communities "either boom into commercial cities or erode" (p. 168).

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Beyond the Rural Population Turnaround: Implications for Rural Economic Development

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Rural economic distress in the 1980s has coincided with a substantial reduction in the rate of nonmetropolitan population growth.[1] This economic downturn appears to be associated with a restructuring of the rural component of the nation's economy, and especially with reduced international competitiveness in goods production. The early and mid '80s were characterized by severe financial stress in agriculture, a contraction of employment in mining and energy extraction, and very slow growth in manufacturing. Service jobs accounted for most of rural employment growth during this period, but the rate of change in this sector lagged behind metropolitan service growth, and growth was particularly slow in high-skill, high-wage service industries. As a result of these structural changes the nonmetropolitan unemployment and poverty rates have been disproportionately high during the 1980s, and the 1970-80 nonmetropolitan population growth advantage has reverted to slower nonmetropolitan growth and net outmigration.

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This paper reviews post-1980 population growth trends in the context of the turnaround decade of the 1970s. It attempts to determine whether reversion to slower nonmetropolitan growth means that the 1970s were a mere aberration or whether real changes in the pattern of American urbanization occurred. Some implications of these population distribution trends for rural economic development are then discussed.

Population Growth and Distribution

The residential distribution of population is importantly related to a broad set of social, economic, demographic and policy factors. Changes in the location and composition of economic production are particularly important. Throughout most of this century the twin processes of urbanization and metropolitan development have predominated because organizational and technological changes in traditional resource-based rural industries such as agriculture and mining have resulted in reduced labor demand, while growth of industrial employment was relatively concentrated in larger cities and their immediate environs. The rural population has been stable at between 55 and 60 million persons since 1900. In contrast, urban areas have increased sevenfold, resulting in a radical diminution in the rural share of the nation's population.

The 1970s Population Turnaround. Dramatic changes in the structure of economic activities and their geographic location have been occurring since the late 1960s, resulting in unprecendented shifts in the urban-rural and metropolitan-nonmetropolitan distribution of population. During the 1960s and 1970s, rural and small-town areas competed successfully with more highly urbanized areas in attracting or creating jobs. Even though many of these jobs were relatively routine and low paid, they provided economic opportunities in areas where few nonagricultural activities had previously existed. This employment growth helped rural and small-town areas attract labor-force-age population from other areas and retain their own workers. As a result, net outmigration of labor-force-age persons from nonmetropolitan areas was substantially reduced in the 1970s compared with earlier decades. At the same time, nonmetropolitan areas had positive net migration at every age except 20 through 29.

The decentralization of industrial and service-based employment was a critical factor in the nonmetropolitan population turnaround, but other economic and noneconomic factors also affected the flow of migration and consequently the relative rates of population growth between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. These factors, when considered together, indicate the changed status of small towns and rural areas in the national settlement structure as well as their changed economic activities. Other economic factors affecting population distribution included: an equilibrium in supply and demand of agricultural labor, stemming the flow of rural workers from areas heavily dependent on this sector of the economy; price-induced increases in labor demand for mining and energy extraction; and the development of a widespread recreation and retirement industry throughout rural America.

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Noneconomic, or at least nonpecuniary, factors included community modernization, greater residential sprawl in the far peripheries of metropolitan areas, and a generalized public preference for living in smaller scale communities. In sum, these changes portray a heightened set of social and economic linkages between rural areas and more highly urbanized locales. Rural and small town America is an integral part of the highly urban and metropolitan society that is the U.S. today. Accordingly, national (and global) events now have a more direct impact on present day life in rural and small town America.

Reduced Nonmetropolitan Growth Since 1980. These heightened linkages mean that the rural and nonmetropolitan economies are more sensitive to changes in the business cycle, global competition, and macroeconomic policy. These factors, combined with longstanding weaknesses in the rural economy, have had an unmistakable effect on the reduced population growth experienced by nonmetropolitan areas since 1980. The return to slower nonmetropolitan population growth during this period is surely associated

with a delayed recovery from the 1979-82 recession, financial stress in agriculture and its linked industries, and slow growth or decline of employment in rural and nonmetropolitan manufacturing and resource-based industries.

The resumption of slower nonmetropolitan population growth is displayed in Table 1. These annualized data show that while population growth in metropolitan areas increased slightly from 1.0 to 1.1 percent, the nonmetropolitan growth rate was more than halved from over 1.3 percent per year during 1983-86 than during 1970-80 to only .6 percent during 1980-86. Moreover, this change was more precipitous during 1983-86 than during the first three years of the decade.

Migration is the principal determinant of residential differences in population growth in the U.S. today. As Elo and Beale (1988) have shown, the nonmetropolitan rate of national increase was only slightly lower than the comparable rate in metropolitan areas during 1980-86 (.63 percent and .74 percent, respectively, largely because of a higher crude death rate in nonmetropolitan areas). In contrast, nonmetropolitan areas have experienced a resurgence of outmigration to metropolitan areas during this period. The data in Table 2 show that, similar to the growth data in Table 1, this migration loss did not begin until after 1983. However, the loss accelerated greatly at this time. The estimated migration loss for 1985-86 is larger than the annual average loss of either the 1950s or 1960s and is a turnaround from the 1970s when nonmetropolitan areas had a net migration gain of over 350,000 persons per year.

Data in Table 1 also compare growth rates of nonmetropolitan counties adjacent to metropolitan areas with those counties that are geographically separated. Adjacency has been conducive to more rapid population growth throughout this century, and indicates the ever-increasing reach of metropolitan areas in organizing the activities of their hinterlands. However, this growth advantage of adjacent counties, while maintained,

Farming areas have experienced almost all of their growth rate deterioration since 1983 . . .

was significantly moderated during the turnaround decade of the 1970s. The difference in growth rates between adjacent and nonadjacent areas was slight, and both types of area were growing much more rapidly than their metropolitan counterparts. Population growth has fallen off in both types of areas since 1980, but the decline has been much more noticeable in nonadjacent areas, especially since 1983. In fact, these 1500 counties—almost half of the nonmetropolitan total—hardly grew at all during 1983-86. Adjacent counties, on the other hand, grew at an annual rate of .75 percent during this period, which is almost as high as the rate for all U.S. counties regardless of residence.

The determinants of inter-area variation in population growth rates can be analyzed in several ways. One can compare rates of growth among areas grouped in terms of pertinent economic (and/or other) attributes; another approach compares the explanatory power of area characteristics considered together in a multivariate

Table 1. Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population, 1970-1986

	# of Counties	Population				Annualized Change per 100			
		1970	1980	1983	1986	70-80	80-86	80-83	83-86
Total	3097	203302	226543	234251	241033	1.08	.99	1.03	.95
Metro	714	155717	172117	178340	184409	1.00	1.10	1.09	1.12
Nonmetro	2383	47585	54425	55910	56625	1.34	.63	.83	.42
Adjacent	908	23407	27027	27780	28410	1.44	.80	.85	.75
Nonadj.	1475	24178	27398	28130	28215	1.25	.47	.81	.10

Note: Numbers in thousands, may not add due to rounding. Annualized growth rates per 100 calculated on full numbers. Metropolitan designation based on 1980 census, updated by OMB in 1983.

Source: U.S. Census of Population as computed by Elo and Beale (1988).

framework. The first method gives a general identification of the kinds of areas that are growing (or declining) most rapidly, while the second method provides more detailed insights into the determinants of differential rates of growth.

The data in Table 3 indicate that every category of nonmetropolitan county experienced a significant decline in average annual growth rate during 1980-86. Even retirement inmigration counties, the only nonmetropolitan county type still growing faster than the metropolitan (and U.S.) average, experienced a substantial growth rate decline since 1980.

The timing of post-1980 declines in growth rates differed among the nonmetropolitan county types. Farming areas experienced almost all of their growth rate deterioration since 1983, probably as a lagged response to farm financial stress of the early 1980s. Manufacturing dependent counties declined precipitously between 1980-83 and have stabilized at a very slow rate of growth—less than .4 percent per year. Recent reports indicate that rising exports have spurred manufacturing employment during 1987 in the midwest. If this trend continues, we can expect population growth to recover as well. Counties with a substantial share of their employment in mining held up relatively well during 1980-83, but experienced a dramatic decline of almost 20 percentage points since then. This set of counties is now declining as a group, doubtless a response to depressed markets for mineral and energy products. Taken together these data indicate that since 1980, rural economies which depend heavily on goods production have had difficulty retaining their population and/or attracting migrants. Only service-based nonmetropolitan economies, characterized here as retirement inmigration counties, have grown faster than the national average since 1980. In fact, this group of counties accounted for almost two-thirds of all nonmetropolitan population growth in 1980-86 (1.3 mil of 2.2 mil).

"Retirees are the growth industry of the '80s."

The data in Table 4 and Figure 1 associate selected county characteristics with county population change for each of three periods, 1960-70, 1970-80, and 1980-84, in a multivariate analysis. The county properties examined represent the principal domains of factors shown in previous research to be associated with nonmetropolitan population growth (see Fuguitt, 1985, for a review of this literature). These domains of variables pertain to local urbanization, location with respect to urban counties and transportation networks, employment and economic activities, the level of material well-being, climate, and geographic location.

The method used here is multiple classification analysis (Andrews et al., 1973). This is equivalent to a binary-variable multiple regression with the effects of omitted categories made explicit. Results are in the form of deviations from the grand mean for each category of each variable. The "unadjusted" deviations are for categories of the variable when it is considered

Table 2. Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan Migration in the United States, 1980-86

Migration Stream	1980 -1981	1981 -1982	1982 -1983	1983 -1984	1985 -1985
Metro-to-nonmetro	2,350	2,366	2,066	2,258	1,807
Nonmetro-to-metro	2,156	2,217	2,088	2,609	2,439
Net to nonmetro	194	149	-22	-351	-632

Note: For 1980-83, metropolitan areas are as listed in 1970; 1984 metropolitan definition used thereafter (noninstitutionalized population).

Source: Current Population Survey Bureau of the Census prepared by the Economic Research Service, USDA.

Table 3. Annualized Population Change by Functional Characteristics of Nonmetropolitan Counties 1970-86[1]

County Type[2]	1970-80	1980-86	1980-83	1983-86
Total	1.08	.99	1.03	.95
Metropolitan	1.00	1.10	1.09	1.12
Nonmetropolitan	1.34	.63	.83	.42
Farming	.66	.25	.56	-.08
Manufacturing	1.14	.36	.35	.37
Mining	1.80	.43	1.36	-.58
Retirement	2.83	1.75	1.84	1.66

[1]Annualized growth rates per 100 calculated on full numbers.
[2]County classification as developed by Bender et al. (1985).

Source: U.S. Census of Population as compiled by Elo and Beale (1988).

Table 4. Multiple Classification Analysis of Weighted Annualized Growth Rates with Selected Independent Variables, Nonmetropo litan Counties of the United States: 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-84

Variable and Category	Means			Adjusted Means			
	1960-70	1970-80	1980-84	1960-70	1970-80	1980-84	
Location Code							
Adj SLP 10000+	1.44	.61	87	.93	1.35	73	
Adj SLP 2500-9999	1.01	1.88	.88	1.14	2.03	.99	
Adj SLP <2500	.86	2.35	1.10	1.32	2.63	1.24	
Nadj SLP 10000+	.87	1.37	.86	.59	1.06	.63	
Nadj SLP 2500-9999	.05	1.19	.66	.45	1.45	.76	
Nadj SLP <2500 -	.18	1.32	.59	.82	2.14	1.05	
Eta/Beta	.35	.19	.08	.17	.25	.12	
Interstate Highway							
No	.75	1.50	.74	.79	1.50	.78	
Yest	1.52	1.73	.98	1.01	1.74	.93	
Eta/Beta	.13	.07	.08	.04	.08	12	
Percent in Manufacturing							
0-4	-.04	1.36	1.53	.60	1.94	1.78	
5-9	.64	2.17	2.00	.85	2.15	1.83	
10-19	.89	2.02	.96	1.10	2.02	.98	
20-29	.85	1.54	.57	.85	1.47	.58	
30-up	1.00	1.20	.37	.56	1.16	.36	
Eta/Beta	.17	.24	.37	.13	.25	.36	
Percent in Agriculture							
0-4	1.30	1.62	.86	1.12	1.71	.82	
5-9	1.18	1.76	.99	.97	1.81	1.00	
10-19	1.11	1.75	.73	1.02	1.59	.80	
20-29	.31	.89	.33	.54	71	.41	
30-up	-.51	-.08	-.12	-.02	-.10	-.37	
Eta/Beta	.39	.23	.13	.24	.25	.13	
Median Family Income							
1 (Low)	-.37	1.54	.68	-.19	1.17	.37	
2	.25	1.61	.86	.21	1.32	.67	
3	.67	1.65	.94	.65	1.54	.86	
4	.90	1.72	.78	.94	1.76	.92	
5 (High)	1.72	1.47	.85	1.65	1.73	1.14	
Eta/Beta	.37	.06	.06	.34	.13	.16	
Hotels Number/Expected							
1 Less than	1.00	.63	1.31	.65	.71	1.36	.69
2 1.00-1.99	1.18	2.01	1.41	.88	2.07	1.38	
3 2.00-up	1.96	3.17	1.72	1.42	2.76	1.43	
Eta/Beta	.24	.37	.27	.12	.29	.21	
Mean January Temperature							
Low-24	.63	1.07	.44	.47	.96	.21	
25-34	.80	1.32	.53	.51	1.34	.52	
35-44	.71	1.82	.96	1.01	2.00	1.19	
45-up	1.2	8	2.43	1.77	1.51	2.28	1.75
Eta/Beta	.14	.31	.33	.24	.32	.39	
Grand Means	.81	1.59	.84				
Number of Counties	2741	2627	2384				
Multiple R Squared				.283	.599	.581	
Multiple R				532	.599	.581	

Income 59: 1. Low-2499; 2. 2500-3499; 3. 3500-4499; 4. 4500-5499; 5. 5500-up.
Income 69: 1. Low-5499; 2. 5500-6499; 3. 6500-7499; 4. 7500-8499; 5. 8500-up.
Income 79: 1. Low-12999; 2. 13000-14999; 3. 15000-16999; 4. 17000-18999; 5. 19000-up.

Source: Fuguitt et al. (1989)

Figure 1. Annualized Growth Rates by Selected Variables, Nonmetropolitan Counties of the United States.

individually, whereas the "adjusted" deviations are those for each variable considered with all other variables controlled. Etas are measures of association for the unadjusted deviations, betas are measures of association for the adjusted deviations—the former being the correlation ratio and the latter analogous to multiple regress beta weights.[2]

The MCA analysis is reported in detail in Fuguitt and Beale (1986) and Fuguitt et al. (1989). Only a brief summary of results is presented here. The values graphed in Figure 1 are unadjusted deviations; both adjusted and unadjusted deviations are displayed in Table 4. The MCA analysis shows that the determinants of nonmetropolitan population change in the 1980s are a continuation of patterns that became evident in the turnaround decade, not a reversion to the factors associated with growth and decline in the 1960s or before. In comparing the 1960s and the turnaround period of the 1970s, the analysis shows a decline in the importance of variables associated with local urban development, a weakening of the positive effects of employment in manufacturing, and of median family income, a decline in the negative effect of employment in agriculture, and a substantial increase in the strength of the positive association of population growth with recreation activities and climatic conditions. The post-1980 period saw a further decline in the importance of local urban development, employment in agriculture and median family income, a maintenance of the positive growth effect of recreation and climate, and a switch from positive to negative in the effect of manufacturing employment. Accordingly, there appears to have been a modification of the population distribution process since 1970. The turnaround appears to have involved a shift in the determinants of population distribution patterns that continues in the 1980s even though the relative rates of population growth have switched in favor of metropolitan areas.

International immigration . . . is almost entirely oriented toward metropolitan destinations.

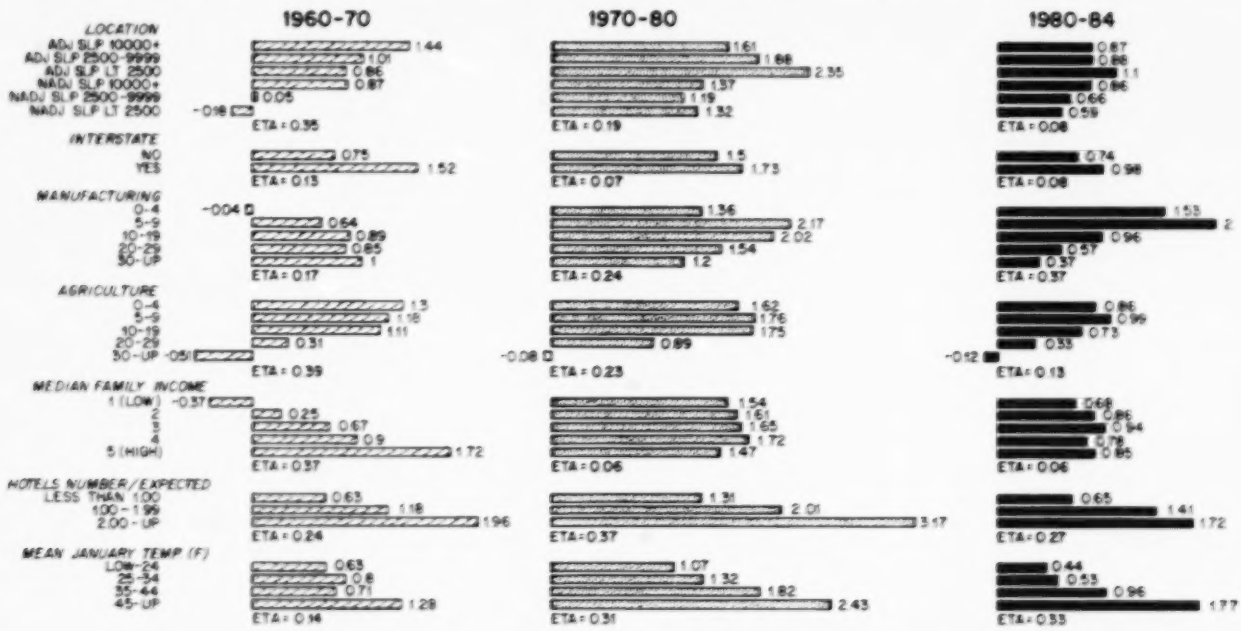
Taken together, both analyses indicate that goods-producing activities have declined in importance as determinants of rural population growth. Residential activities appear to be the most important bases of growth in the 1980s. This is indicated by the effects of recreation- and retirement-based activities; regional location in warm climates; and the continuing, albeit diminished, importance of metropolitan adjacency (and by implication, metropolitan job commuting).

Implications of Reduced Nonmetropolitan Population Growth

A New Pattern of Urbanization? Does this return to slower nonmetropolitan population growth and net outmigration indicate a return to the urbanization patterns of the 1960s and earlier? The data presented in this paper do not support this conclusion, especially with respect to the determinants of growth and decline. In general, reduced nonmetropolitan population growth shows that many areas had a short-lived competitive edge in manufacturing which provided a basis for net inmigration and population retention. Heavy reliance on goods production, however, combined with small economy size and a lack of industrial diversification made many nonmetropolitan economies extremely vulnerable to the 1979-82 recession, and continues to place them at a comparative disadvantage with respect to other nations that produce similar products. These are typically lesser developed nations that are lower cost producers, and frequently they have relatively high growth rates of productivity.[3] Macroeconomic events, especially changes in the trade-weighted value of the dollar, exacerbated the situation, further eroding the competitive position of nonmetropolitan producers, and reduced rural and nonmetropolitan communities' ability to attract and retain labor-force-age population. Accordingly, to the extent that individual rural and small town economies continue to be heavily dependent on a narrow mix of goods-producing activities (farming, mining, manufacturing), we can expect them to experience sluggish population growth punctuated with booms and busts in response to global and national economic events and policies.

The analysis of the determinants of variation in population growth among nonmetropolitan counties indicated that the turnaround period of the 1970s signaled a fundamental modification

Figure 1. Annualized Growth Rates by Selected Variables, Nonmetrepolitan Counties of the United States.



of the U.S. population distribution process which is continuing in the 1980s. Residential- and service-based economies are now most likely to retain and attract population, and access to metropolitan and/or nonmetropolitan employment centers may be a key to economic viability for many of these areas. Noneconomic, or at least, nonpecuniary, factors exerted themselves as important determinants of nonmetropolitan growth during the 1960s and 1970s, and these factors continue to be positively associated with growth since 1980. Recreation- and retirement-based economies have been the fastest growing county types for nearly two decades. As one commentator has noticed, "Retirees are the growth industry of the '80s."

Another indicator that reduced nonmetropolitan population growth since 1980 does not necessarily indicate a return to the population concentration trends of the 1950s and 1960s is demonstrated in an analysis by Fuguitt and his collaborators (1989) which indicates that population deconcentration is still the dominant pattern *within* the nonmetropolitan sector itself. The rural parts of nonmetropolitan counties grew faster than urban parts during the 1970s and have maintained a growth rate advantage during the 1980s. This differs from the 1960s, and before, when the typical pattern was for declining nonmetropolitan counties to experience rapid losses in rural population with accompanying urban growth. Improvements in transportation and communication have permitted population and economic activity to be more dispersed than previously.

Finally, while it is true that metropolitan areas are gaining migrants from nonmetropolitan areas once again, it should be noted that nonmetropolitan net outmigration is only one of the sources of this metropolitan growth resurgence. International immigration, an increasingly important factor in U.S. population growth, for example, is almost entirely oriented toward metropolitan destinations. And, even though almost one-half of nonmetropolitan counties have lost population since 1980, their rates of decline are less than in the 1960s.

The nonmetropolitan sector is very diverse, and broad generalizations mask many important differences among individual areas. In fact, in many ways the variation among nonmetropolitan areas is as great as the differences between them and metropolitan areas. Accordingly, heavy dependence on service, consumer, and residential activities may not be an appropriate economic development or population retention strategy for all areas. Some areas may be able to retain or

regain their viability through more traditional industrial development, especially if such activities seek to identify nontraditional market niches for their products, if local developers can package new and/or expanded manufacturing activities with producer services, and if several local economies cooperate, thus avoiding beggar-thy-neighbor competition.

Agriculture will doubtless continue to be the mainstay of many rural economies, especially in the midwest. Needless to say, rapid population growth is not in the future for such places, but relative stability is a realistic development goal.

If older citizens are unwilling to support essential services for younger persons . . . this can lead to deterioration of the communities' human capital . . .

The technological and organizational changes in agriculture that gave rise to massive outmigration during the 1950s and 1960s are largely completed. Present and future population losses in agricultural areas are more likely to be associated with the economic instability created by wide swings in demand for raw commodities. Local economies can dampen this instability by identifying value-added market niches and/or through economic diversification. However, it should be remembered that many of these agricultural areas have been experiencing net outmigration for so long that even if it were stemmed they would still experience population decline through natural decrease. Moderate inmigration (or vastly increased fertility rates—which are unlikely and probably unwise) is required to stabilize their population bases. This inmigration would have to be selective of those in their childbearing ages if it were to lead to long-term population stability or modest growth.

Economic Impact of Population Change. Local population and economic growth are inextricably tied in a complex set of mutually dependent relationships. It is not possible to determine whether population growth causes economic growth or vice versa. The truth is that they are mutually reinforcing processes. While numerous studies have also identified important social and community factors in nonmetropolitan population growth during the 1970s and 1980s, economic factors appear to be the most critically important in sorting areas with regard to growth and decline. But in the other direction of the relationship, how has reduced nonmetropolitan growth and resumed outmigration affected rural and small town economies?

These effects are transmitted through changes in aggregate population size (either growth or decline), and by changes in population composition. Adjusting to such changes can be complicated by their rapidity, and by whether changes are anticipated or largely unforeseen. The situation becomes more complex when the effects of population change are disaggregated into natural increase and migration (internal and international) components. These components can be moving at different rates, in fact, in different directions, and have different age, gender or racial patterns in individual communities. Accordingly, the aggregate local impact of population change is typically the sum of these different effects, some of which may act to counterbalance each other.[4] The present discussion is simplified by focusing mainly on migration. This is justified because migration has been the principal determinant of inter-area differences in nonmetropolitan population change during recent decades, but we should not forget that changes in all of the demographic components can be important at the local level as well.

The resurgence of nonmetropolitan net outmigration has its main effects through the age pattern of these losses. Unfortunately, a close inspection of the post-1980 CPS metropolitan-nonmetropolitan migration estimates shows them to be implausible in both the aggregate and by age. By 1986-87 the CPS indicates over one million nonmetropolitan net outmigration, with losses at all ages. A migration loss of this magnitude would entail an unreasonably high rate of natural increase to maintain the nonmetropolitan base at its indicated level. Moreover, the continued growth of retirement counties suggests that elderly migrants have continued to flow into the nonmetropolitan sector, not leave it as indicated in the CPS estimates. What can be safely said, however, is that nonmetropolitan net migration has turned strongly negative since 1983, and that net migration losses have spread throughout

the working ages and among children. Nonmetropolitan counties are now probably experiencing net outmigration at all ages up to the mid-forties while continuing to have inmigration at the older ages. In contrast, during the 1970s, nonmetropolitan net migration was positive at all ages except 20 through 29 (Fuguitt et al., 1989). The economic development effects of these migration losses are mainly associated with changes in the growth and composition of the labor force; changes in the demand for goods, services and utilities; and changes in the demands placed on physical infrastructure.

Outmigration during the prime working ages reduces the labor supply, thus making an area less attractive to businesses for new enterprise development and/or for expansion of present establishments. Moreover, such migration losses typically result in an older labor force with greater needs for retraining and mid-career education, and more resistance to change. Even though a more mature labor force may be more responsible and have a higher level of productivity, an aging labor force is generally considered to be negative from an economic development perspective. Therefore, once set in motion, net outmigration of labor-force-age persons may further impede economic growth and give rise to additional outmigration. The situation may be reinforcing and difficult to stop.

Nonmetropolitan net outmigration reduces local income and, consequently, the demand for goods and services. And, since outmigration has an age pattern, it affects the composition of demand, not just its total size. Losses at the young-family ages affect the demand for new housing, utilities, services, and consumer durables associated with housing, schools, pediatric medical services, children's clothing, day care, toys, etc. Continued increases at older ages affect the demand for medical services and facilities, social welfare services, and transportation. Accordingly, both public and private sectors have to adjust to these changes in demand. Outmigration of children and adults, and stability or inmigration of older persons, can affect the generational allocation of public resources away from youth and younger families to older persons. If older citizens are unwilling to support essential services for younger persons, say education, this situation can eventually lead to additional deterioration of the communities' human capital, further diminishing the areas' chances for future growth.

On the other hand, inmigration of older persons can be a positive factor in nonmetropolitan economic development. Older migrants typically bring pension and/or transfer system income with them, and they save and invest more than younger people, thus increasing the pool of capital available for local investment. Moreover, an increase in the number of older residents typically generates new demand for goods and services to be provided by the local economy and public sector. This increases the demand for labor, which can reduce the local unemployment rate and attract labor-force-age migrants to the community. So while elderly inmigration is not without direct and indirect costs, it can provide a basis for rural economic growth as well. The same can be said of population growth or inmigration at any age.

The 1970s and 1980s have been decades of unanticipated demographic change in rural and nonmetropolitan areas. If one thing can be learned from this experience it is that demographic change, not stability, is the normal state of affairs for rural and nonmetropolitan America. Local decision-makers, as well as social scientists, must remember that these demographic changes cannot be considered in isolation from changes in economic and social structure with which they are closely tied. Moreover, understanding changes in the demographic, economic and social structure of rural and nonmetropolitan America requires an examination of the ties that bind such areas to the rest of the national economy and social structure, and to the global system beyond our borders.

Acknowledgements

My long-term collaborations with Calvin L. Beale and Glenn V. Fuguitt and with Nina L. Glasgow have helped to frame my perspective on the interrelationships between population and economic change. Conversations with Calvin L. Beale regarding the sufficiency of post-1980 demographic data were materially important in the present paper. Arline Clair's assistance was invaluable in preparing the manuscript.

Notes

1. The terms rural and nonmetropolitan are used interchangeably in this paper. However, unless otherwise specified, all residentially comparative data analysis is for metropolitan-nonmetropolitan counties. These residential designations are based on the 1980 Census of Population as updated by OMB in 1983. Post-1980 county population figures are based on provisional population estimates published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

2. Fuguitt and Beale (1986) showed differences between weighted and unweighted mean annual population growth rates for counties. Accordingly, they ran the multiple classification analysis with county change rates weighted by their population bases. Although the weights and the size of beta coefficients were somewhat different, results were similar to the unweighted findings reported here, and support the general conclusions reported in this paper.

3. One method of increasing industrial competitiveness is to adopt productivity-enhancing technology. Since this technology generally reduces the demand for labor, however, such adjustments can hardly be expected to contribute to increased population retention or to inmigration. On the other hand, mixing more productive, "leaner" manufacturers with high-technology producer services in a more diversified local economy may provide the economic basis for population growth and/or stability in the future. The success of such strategies would seem to be enchanced if several local areas cooperate in economic ventures, therefore providing sufficient size to benefit from scale economies, and to support the provision of necessary technical assistance in the public and private sectors.

4. For example, many nonmetropolitan counties in the South have experienced net inmigration of whites while at the same time losing black residents. The net effect is moderate overall inmigration, but the impact differs widely in the black and white communities.

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Meadows and Mountains, Fields and Forests, Storms and Stresses — the Rural Picture

Martha Bullock Lamberts*

Each of us probably carries a definition of "rural" within our subconscious. I know I do. If your definition is anything like mine, it is predominately a sensual and even idyllic definition. Close your eyes and experience with me the *smell* of new-mown grass or crushed mint; the *sound* of lazy insects buzzing, of cattle lowing in the distance, or of rippling water; the *feel* of warm sand or cool loam between your toes; the *taste* of wild strawberries; and the multitudinous calendar-perfect *sights* of meadow and mountain, field and forest — these are the stuff of rural definition. From them, highly entrepreneurial hypnotists with mellifluous voices describe short "mind vacations" guaranteed to relieve the stresses arising from the uncertainties endemic to urban living.

This is the subconscious definition of "rural." The conscious reality of rural America is far less relaxing; for the reality is that rural America is being transformed by what may be even more traumatic uncertainties than those af-

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fecting urban life, and that these uncertainties are the stuff of which stress, not dreams, are made. As Coward and Jackson (1983, page 191) suggest, "change is a central theme for all rural Americans — change in themselves, in their families, and in the communities in which they live."

All change has effects that are stressful, but some recent changes in rural communities have caused especially acute stress and personal crisis. This has been particularly true when rural occupations, long considered permanent bulwarks of communities, have been affected by boom/bust fluctuations in prosperity, by technological invention, economic restructuring, and/or by world economic conditions causing abrupt changes in markets for agriculture, forestry, mining, and fishery products.

. . . rural America is being transformed by what may be even more traumatic uncertainties than those affecting urban life . . .

In 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987: Table 33), slightly under one quarter (23.5 percent) of the population of the United States lived in rural areas (that is, in open country or in towns of less than 2,500 persons). Today, less than 10 percent of all rural persons in the United States live on farms.

Some stressors both rural and urban families share in common. This stress, usually connected with stressors like marriage tensions, childbirth, parenting, and career demands has been termed "normative" by researchers McCubbin and Patterson because it is ubiquitous to both rural and urban. It is also somewhat predictable and, normally, non-chronic in occurrence (McCubbin and Patterson, 1983).

In 1982, the same researchers defined a family stressor as a life event which has an impact upon the family unit that produces a potential for change in the family as a social system. The effect of such an event, or hardship, on the well-being of a family is dependent upon a family's ability to adapt and adjust without crisis or disruption to familial bonds (Burr, 1973).

Medically, stress is the rate of wear and tear on individuals caused by living. Symptoms of excessive stress go back to the days when people lived in caves. They are automatic, and usually unconscious, and they are the responses that enabled us to survive as a species, because they enabled our ancestors to flee or fight when faced by a saber-toothed tiger or other danger.

Stress, then, creates excess energy (enough for flight or fight). Today's stressors, however, are principally psychological. We cannot fight them, neither can we flee. This alarm/energy stress state causes physical changes which may, over time, affect personality and even physical health. The need to release excess energy may evidence itself in aggression, physical or verbal, with resulting detriment to relationships; or the stressed individual may withdraw into physical isolation from human contact or a escape into mental denial, fantasy, or depression (Lamberts and Turner, 1984).

Rather obviously, then, individual responses to stressors — whether aggression or withdrawal, may in themselves provide further stress as they affect individual functioning and relationships.

Some recent research has examined normative stress situations within the context of rural life. Marital disruption and divorce is a normative stressor occurring within a complex interweaving of inter-personal and financial stressors which, according to Walker (1985, page 833), "necessitates knowledge of the individuals, marriages, families, social networks, communities, and societies under stress."

The relationship of work to the marital quality of rural couples was the focus of a study by Bokemeier and Maurer (1987). Their study suggests that assumptions that the employment of a rural wife, or that multiple job holding on the part of either spouse will result in lower marital quality are not necessarily correct. Rural couples in which husbands and wives sex-role orientations differed greatly or in which the wife had a more egalitarian sex-role orientation experienced significantly higher levels of stress. These couples also had lower levels of communication than did those who shared a strong similarity of

. . . the pattern was for the husband to be the decision maker, whether or not the wife preferred that pattern.

husband/wife sex-role orientation scores.

In 1985, Norem and Blundall used a contextual approach to study the effects of stressors upon family organization. They incorporated ideas from the literature on rural families and family stress to look at disruption and divorce among rural families in a context of value orientations. Their context themes included:

Commitment to farming as a way of life.
Role congruence.
Inter-generational relations.

All of the respondents in their study were struggling with the agricultural life style in their marriages. Most of the couples shared the basic value that farming is a way of life more than an economic activity.

This attitude affected the second contextual theme; that of a role congruence which focused directly on the marital relationships of the persons in the study, with a resulting pattern of confusion and dissatisfaction emerging. The marriages described by the respondents experienced marital stress because of an inability to reach a congruent definition of the economic and social roles. Generally the pattern was for the husband to be the decision maker, whether or not the wife preferred that pattern.

In the Norem and Blundall study, many of the families were also experiencing some stressful disturbances because of inter-generational relationships. Extended family was often involved in the economic activity of the couples within the participant group. Extended families were also involved financially in major decision-making capacities and/or on a day-to-day operational basis. This added to the stress pile-up for the couples.

The fourth contextual theme, that of the impact of extra-familial stressors, was one of particular importance to the families interviewed. All of them lived in communities which had been hard hit by the economic farm crisis. Parenting concerns also added to stress, particularly because the parent couples in the Norem/Blundall study wanted to maintain farming as a way of life for their children. This was expressed as a separate, but related issue from child custody concerns.

Finally, several couples were unable to complete divorce settlement agreements because of their commitment to the farm and to the land. When there was inter-generational land ownership that involved either spouse's extended family, the spouse whose family of origin was not involved was often left without a settlement of either land or cash.

Divorce rates are equivalent to urban ones and child abuse is positively related to distance from cities.

Still another study by Meiners and Olson (1987) examined the work roles that farm women play as stressors intrinsic to the family farm enterprise. The researchers found no significant differences in the amount of time that farm, rural non-farm, or urban women allotted to household work. Rural non-farm women worked for pay about 15 hours per week in contrast to the number of hours of urban women, which was 11.5 hours. Farm women worked an average of 8.4 hours per week for pay, less than the other two groups. On the other hand, farm women devoted 5.43 hours per week to organizational and volunteer participation, compared to 3.23 for rural non-farm, and 2.37 for urban.

Still other studies suggest that inter-generational relationships may be more difficult for rural families from the time of adolescence through the years that would be defined by urban communities as postretirement — all of these related to intra-familial ownership of the land. (Mercier, Paulson, and Morris, 1988) (Weigel and Weigel, 1987) (Kivett 1988) (Boss, Pearce-McCall and Greenberg, 1987).

A 1979 study done in Iowa created what turned out to be a source for baseline data on stress that predates the additional stressors caused by current financial uncertainties faced in agriculture. Ratings based upon averages for a small sample in Iowa placed stressful events on a 200 point scale according to the magnitude of the stressor as perceived by respondents.

In 1979, the stressor events rated highest by farmers were:

Machinery breakdown at a critical time.
Disease outbreak in livestock.

Becoming ill during planting or harvesting.
Suffering a major personal illness.
Finding a valuable animal dead.

In 1985, the Department of Human Development and the Family at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln conducted a new study on stress from a random sample of Nebraska farm and ranch families. From the same total of 47 stressful events, three economic indicators now appeared in the top five events, both in frequency of occurrence and the severity of the distress they caused. These economic stressors were:

. . . very often farm families evidence stress by withdrawal from the community, and from possible sources of help.

Poor cash flow to meet obligations.
High debt load.
Living with inflation and budgeting.

When asked to choose their top stressor, 42 percent of the respondents indicated some type of farm or home economic problem. No other single stressor was mentioned by more than 17 percent of the sample.

Relatively little scientific research appears to have been done about financially distressed and dislocated rural families. Typically, the studies that propose to deal with stress focus instead on the subject of economic problems and outcomes. There is, however, a small emerging body of research that gives some indication of the magnitude of the problem and of the needs of those involved. Perhaps the best known study is by Judith and William Heffernan from the Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Missouri-Columbia. The Heffernans conducted interviews with families who left farming for financial reasons between 1980 and 1985. They were particularly interested in the reactions to stress of family members. Their analysis is based on the responses of 40 families who were, on the average, young, had children at home, were well educated, and were active church members.(Horton, 1987)

The Heffernans' findings indicated that 97 percent of the men and 100 percent of the women became depressed because of their anxiety and the uncertainty. Nearly two-thirds (61 percent of the men, 66 percent of the women) reported withdrawing from family and friends, 74 percent of the men and 69 percent of the women reported feelings of worthlessness, and 66 percent of the men and 81 percent of the women reported great changes in moods, from low to high and back. Almost half the men reported that they became more physically aggressive, 72 percent of men and 81 percent of women reported restlessness and inability to concentrate and over half of both men and women reported they became unusally silent and withdrawn for noticeable periods of time.

The Heffernans focused part of their attention on the problems and responses of the children in the families. Major identifiable changes in children's behaviors were reported by 56 percent of the families. Among these changes were school problems, behavioral upsets, increased fears and bitterness, anger and frustration and parent-child conflict. Other symptoms noted by school systems included:

Students of all ages showed symptoms of stress.
There was a large increase in free lunch use.
There was a noticeable need for medical and dental attention in some children.
Students "gobbled up" school lunches.
Students came to school hungry.
Students no longer complained about the school lunches.

Adolescent behavioral changes included increased use of alcohol, withdrawal, bitterness about diminished social status and being forced to move and change schools, lower school grades and increasing rebelliousness, sleep disorders, demands for attention, and aggressiveness. I might add that my national professional networks and the results of personal needs inquiries confirm the Heffernan's findings and indicate that they (the findings) understate the actual situation.

In many states, drug and alcohol use has become a number one concern of rural parents. In the state of Washington at least, adolescent

pregnancy rates are highest in rural areas. A recent Washington State University conference on adolescent pregnancy brought 63 community teams together to develop plans for mobilizing communities. (April 1988) Some participants were from cities like Seattle and Spokane. More were from towns and villages with names like Oak Harbor, Omak, Quincy and Stevenson. Divorce rates are equivalent, or close, to urban ones and child abuse is positively related (in Washington at least) to distance from cities.

In 1986 Washington State University's faculty studied farm financial stress in eastern Washington (Dillman, Don, 1986). At that time 43 percent of the respondents indicated that they knew 8 - 10 persons who were experiencing stress because of financial problems. About 51 percent indicated that they knew one to four families with family problems rooted in financial stress.

Family was rated as the top source for help in time of stress (51 percent), with about the same percentage placing neighbors and private consultants in the helpful column. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents listed lenders as being helpful. Other people mentioned frequently as helpful were county extension agents and clergy, and 86 percent looked toward Cooperative Extension as significantly able to provide educational programs for recognizing and coping with personal and family stress, farm finance planning, and budgeting and marketing.

So what's it like in rural America these days? In 1987, I am told that at least in the state of Washington, we were reprieved — that is wheat prices rose and our crop found a market. But if we note a reprieve in terms of financial stress, we must recognize at the same time that simultaneous declines in key rural industries have adversely affected job, incomes, and government revenues and created permanent changes in rural America. Rural employment has grown by only 4 percent since 1979 compared to 13 percent for urban areas. More than 1000 rural counties had annual unemployment rates of 9 percent or greater in 1986. The 1985 poverty rate of the non-metropolitan population was 18.3 percent in contrast to a rate of 12.7 percent for metro populations. Unlike the metro poverty rate, the non-metropolitan poverty rate has not fallen during the recovery from the recession of the early 1980's. The United States as a whole, and rural America in particular, is facing increasingly stiff international competition.

Last year I spoke to over 144,000 people on the topic of rural stress in connection with my work. I spoke to them, but I also asked questions. Wherever I went, I routinely surveyed participants about childhood stress, using a life-events scale developed by David Elkind (1981). According to this stress test, a child who scores between 150 and 300 has a better than average risk of some stress symptoms. Above 300, the child is likely to show serious changes in health and/or behavior. My respondents routinely scored over 400. Many (enough so that it became almost the norm) had scores of 600 and above.

I spoke to Farm Home Administration staff to help them understand how to deal with persons in stress, and I recall very well conversations with this audience about how to deal with clients who spoke of suicide. Many of the participants had had to deal with suicidal situations within their offices. Still other groups asked me to come to help them recognize stress symptoms and to teach them ways to help a neighbor, a client, or a colleague, whom they saw dealing with painful stress.

The rural population is a proud one. Its value system does not allow it to advertise its personal stress by attending stress workshops or asking for public help and counseling. To do so is to admit failure, and so very often farm families evidence their stress by withdrawal from the community, and from possible sources of help. In Washington, the turnout for workshops on rural stress has been very poor. We are far better able to reach these people in rural communities with workshops on "how to help with stress" or with home study packages, video tapes, etc. Rural people hold some traditional values close to their hearts. Namely that:

Blood is thicker than water.
Industry leads to success.
Trust in the Lord and you shall prevail.
Rural folks pitch in at times of crisis.

At least some of the above have turned out to possess elements of idyllic myth, especially with

regard to support systems. Some rural people have found extended family to be non-existent or rendered impotent as a resource by its own efforts to cope. Pastors have sometimes proven less than omnipotent as counsellors. Church members and neighbors have sometimes avoided the affected, almost as if failure were reprehensibly venereal in nature and terribly contagious.

I said that in Washington we have experienced a reprieve. I believe that reprieve has lessened stress, but has not made it go away. Because stress is cumulative, the degree of involvement in rural occupations and the familial nature of many rural occupations creates an ongoing source of stress. Long-time studies of unemployment by J.H. Brenner suggest that for every 1 percent increase in unemployment in an area, the death rate goes up 1.9 percent .

This heightened death rate affects not only workers who are displaced, but also their families; spouses, babies, children, parents, and the elderly. We have not checked how this research may apply to rural stress. We do know, however, that reference to health problems, marital problems, and suicide, are often mentioned by informed observers. County agents indicate that emotional stress is common in Washington's agricultural communities.

I would like to draw an analogy for you between the displaced homemaker and the farmer. Like the homemaker, the farmer has operated in a traditionally defined role for a long time. In the case of the farmer there are usually expectations of life-long participation that began in childhood. Like the homemaker, the displaced farmer goes through a traumatic process of separation which affects self-esteem and requires a long grieving process as part of recovery, after which both displaced homemaker and farmer must adapt to a new career role which they did not desire, and for which they may feel unprepared. Indeed, there may be cultural and gender role differences between displaced farmers and displaced homemakers, which make farmers more difficult to help.

I have concluded on a personal basis that the problem of stress in rural areas is not transitory. I am further convinced that traditional coping strategies are not effective in dealing with stressors like international policy, changing government relationships, and marketing technologies that are essentially beyond the control of the individual or family farmer.

Our knowledge in this area is still extremely unsophisticated. Stress in rural America deserves our attention, our research, and our preparation for action with developmental, maintenance, and crisis intervention that will improve the capacities and resources of rural individuals to adapt, that will maintain and sustain them during periods when they are unable to adapt rapidly, and that will help those individuals whose stressors have accumulated to the point where they cannot adequately cope for themselves.

So —— smell the sweet grass — taste the tart sweetness of wild berries — but watch out — there is stress there too. It is not sweet, and it can touch you.

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Rural Economic Development

Paul M. Cunningham*

The Western Governors' Association is a non-partisan organization representing sixteen western governors as well as the governors of two island territories and one commonwealth. The governors use WGA as a forum for sharing ideas, developing joint policies, examining regional issues, and advocating regional concerns before Congress and the administration. The issue areas include water, natural resource development, environmental management, transportation, international trade, state/tribal relations, and economic development. What we're here to talk about today is rural economic development.

Ten years ago the governors were concerned about mitigating the impacts of explosive growth in rural areas caused by the energy boom and other developments that caused significant migration to the rural west. Today's concerns are the opposite — dealing with the lack of growth in rural areas, the outmigration of people, the lack of opportunities.

In May of 1986, WGA released a report that

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stated: "In retrospect, the prosperity realized by the western states during the 1970s was fleeting, in that it resulted not from internally-generated economic development, but externally-stimulated economic growth fueled mainly by rising commodity prices and federal expenditures."

The following month WGA released another report which stated: "Over the long-term, global competition is accelerating the West's structural change from a resource-based to a technology- and service-based economy. In the process a widening gap is developing between the two economies in the West — the largely rural economy based on resource industries (agriculture, mineral and energy resources, and timber) is declining, while the largely urban economy based on technology industries (electronics, computers, aerospace) and service industries (financial services, engineering, and tourism) is growing; but it is also threatened."

In light of these studies and the deteriorating conditions in rural areas within their states, the governors directed WGA to focus on the special problems associated with rural development in the West. Rural issues in the West are not limited to agriculture. In the West, rural also means mining and logging, it means tourism and recreation, as well as light manufacturing and small business. Historically, these concerns have not been part of national discussions about rural America. When we talk about rural development in the West we are not talking just about agricultural policy. We are talking about providing a climate for all of our rural businesses to prosper.

Today more than 70 percent of U.S. manufactured goods must compete with products from abroad.

Last year WGA completed a data review of population, income, and employment in the 654 counties in the West. That review revealed that one in every three counties in the West suffers from long-term distress. A vast majority of those counties are rural counties, dependent on agriculture or other natural resource development for employment and income. I am sure this doesn't come as a surprise to any of you. The data indicated to us that the problems in rural areas in the West were not purely the downturn of a boom-bust cycle, but that a longer term structural adjustment was occurring.

- Many people hear the term "structural change" and think that means we ought to give up on rural areas. Structural change does not mean the abandonment of rural areas, rural people, or rural industries. Structural change means learning to compete in the new global economy on the basis of high, value-added production, sophisticated marketing, and differentiation of products regardless of where you live.

The message is, use what you've got but enhance it, build on it.

This structural change was brought about by global competition, changing markets, deregulation, new technologies, and changing demographics. Global competition is an everyday reality. Today more than 70 percent of U.S. manufactured goods must compete with products from abroad. Nations that were net importers of agricultural products are now — or are becoming —net exporters. Global competition presents both a challenge and an opportunity for western states, particularly in light of our proximity to the Pacific Rim countries. The keys to capitalizing on the opportunities are:

- the speed with which we adapt to changes, and
- the quality and price of the goods and services we produce.

Taking advantage of new technologies can benefit both urban and rural areas in the West. New technologies include information technologies, advanced materials, new manufacturing technologies, as well as biotechnology. This does not mean states should focus only on attracting or growing hi-tech industries, but rather that they should also apply new technologies in a range of resource manufacturing and service industries.

Communities should stay close to their knitting when considering how to adapt to change. Agricultural based communities should try to focus on applying biotechnology in growing and processing crops. This adds value to the goods and builds the economic base of the community. Another nearby example is Hood River taking advantage of its strengths by turning this area into

the windsurfing capitol of the nation. The message is, use what you've got but enhance it, build on it.

Traditional markets are changing. Standardized mass marketing is giving way to specialized niche products and services. Demand patterns are changing. Rural areas must keep in touch with these changes and expand markets and tailor products and services to serve changing desires. For example, several ranchers in the West saw the trend toward eating less beef and responded with private brand, natural beef targetted at consumers who were concerned about quality.

The economy of the West is said to resemble swiss cheese — concentrations of development surrounded by areas of limited economic opportunity.

The cumulative effect of global competition, new technologies, and market changes plus changes brought about by deregulation and demographic forces, has been to increase the economic disparity between urban and rural areas. There is a growing gap between economic opportunities in urban and rural areas. The loss of people and jobs in rural areas leads to disinvestment, which hampers the ability to expand existing businesses, and to grow and attract new ones.

The West has been described as a region of "city-states". The economy of the West is said to resemble swiss cheese —concentrations of development surrounded by areas of limited economic opportunity. It disappoints me as I travel around the country how little or how ill- informed urban residents are about rural areas. People think that eggs for their breakfast come from the grocery store, wood for their deck comes from the hardware store, and electricity for their house comes from the power company. The historic ties between urban and rural areas have become blurred. I think the West has a unique opportunity to change this because, as Robert Athearn has written, "the West alone seems to be a national possession". While this affinity for rural areas is a positive thing, a good understanding of rural issues by urbanites is still lacking, but mutual understanding is essential if we are to deal effectively with rural issues.

While some rural areas have found ways to prosper in recent years, many rural areas are experiencing slow growth or decline. People are migrating to urban areas. The key question this poses is: why is rural development important? Why should policymakers be concerned about this issue if technology and market forces are combining to shift people within the state, or even out-of-state.

The first response is usually based on heritage and the mythic figures of the fiercely independent, hard-working farmer or logger. But the answer is broader and more complex than that, and includes such issues as economic security, lifestyle options, national defense, and the concept of rural areas being a touchstone to who we are and aspire to be.

Our country's economic security is based on successfully integrating resource production in rural areas, value added processing in both urban and rural areas, and support services to finance and market the finished product. This is not happening with any degree of consistency. For example, logs from the northwest are exported to Asia where they are processed and sent back as finished goods. The value of the finished product is captured in Asia and some people here in the Northwest feel like an exploited colony. This must change by integrating our rural strengths with our urban strengths to keep both areas economically strong and internationally competitive.

Leadership to reshape declining local economies often comes from residents who have lived in the community only a few years.

Living in a rural setting is a choice. People live in rural areas not just because that is where their work is, but also because that is where their hearts are. The pace of life, the sense of community, the closeness to nature, this is why people live in rural areas. A recent Harris survey found that one out of every four people longed to move to the wide open spaces. We need to enact policies that keep rural economies viable so that option remains open.

If you agree that the state has a role in facilitating development in rural areas then the next key question is what should the state's role be? How can governors and other policymakers best

use scarce resources to aid in that development?

The Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce provided WGA with funding to search for answers to those questions. Working with SRI International over the last year, WGA has developed a strategic planning framework for state policy makers to use for four purposes:

- to analyze changes in rural economies,
- to diagnose specific impediments to economic health,
- to capitalize on opportunities, and
- to identify which areas of the state need what kind of assistance.

We recently held three workshops in the West to review the framework with elected officials, state agency personnel, and local businessmen, as well as representatives from universities and federal agencies.

As a result of the workshops, we are revising the strategic planning framework in order to provide technical assistance to three states — North Dakota, Utah and Washington. The aim is to develop a workable strategic plan for their states' rural development efforts. We hope to help states coordinate available programs and resources for better results, we expect resources to be targeted to those places where aid can make the most difference, and we want to ensure that rural development programs are part of an overall state economic development strategy. The strategic plans that are being developed will be discussed by the governors at their annual meeting in Seattle in early July.

In addition, the workshops provided WGA with valuable insights from people who live in, or work directly with, rural communities. I'd like to share some of the more interesting points.

When people believe that the next boom is just around the corner, they may be prepared to hunker down and wait it out. However, some now successful small communities first had to "bottom out" before people accepted the necessity of change. Related to that, is the fact that it appears that economic hardship is often the mother of entrepreneurism. (e.g., Baker)

Some residents of small, dying towns know their town is dying. They don't want their kids to move back because they know there are currently no opportunities for them.

Many small communities don't want growth or change but also know they must seek economic stability (e.g., Leadville).

Well intentioned aid, both financial and technical, from state or federal agencies, is often designed by urban residents who may not understand the most important needs of rural communities, or the critical steps to take to ensure the assistance is acceptable.

Federal aid for rural development dwarfs state monies, and federal aid arrives in diffuse packages serving different and sometimes cross purposes. Coordination of federal dollars with state development plans can enhance efficiency and increase competitiveness.

State or federal financial assistance to communities to develop their own strategic plan for economic growth is likely to be unsuccessful unless technical assistance to local communities is provided to develop that plan.

Leadership to reshape declining local economies often comes from residents who have lived in the community only a few years.

Deregulation of banking and transportation have adversely affected many rural communities. In addition, rural banks may be reluctant to lend for new, innovative ventures which they don't understand or have experience with. (e.g., Farm Credit Corporation)

Some communities find it hard to cooperate with other communities for mutual benefit — perhaps as a result of historic rivalries often centered on sports.

State policymakers must take into account not only macroeconomic forces changing traditional economies, but also these micro-cultural characteristics when fashioning strategies to encourage economic opportunities. The most important thing a state can do to aid rural development is to help communities conduct an honest appraisal of community potential, that recognizes changing world dynamics and captures opportunities. The role of the state in the development process should be to encourage appropriate business and civic entrepreneurism, coordinate resources, and provide information and support for local leadership and leadership development. Communities that want to adapt will rise to the challenge.

Given this knowledge, how should state poli-

cymakers proceed with developing economic strategies for rural stability and growth. Governors value and respect the virtues and strengths of the rural West. They want to work with rural communities to help them sustain themselves. They can do that by working with other policymakers to develop a consensus which includes innovation and change. They must balance efficiency concerns with considerations of equity. Their strategies must identify and reward entrepreneurs and local initiative, for that is where economic health will emerge. The following general guidelines are also recommended:

Do not pick winners or losers: state policy should be based on a sound diagnosis of differences among various rural areas of the state and should target the appropriate kind of assistance to each area given local infrastructure and leadership characteristics.

Be realistic about the economic capacity of rural areas: some rural areas need basic assistance to bring them to a state of readiness, others need help adapting to change, while others simply need help expanding their opportunities. Each requires a different type of assistance.

Do not provide expedient bailouts: this form of action forestalls tough choices, wastes resources, and hampers long term competitiveness. Short term relief may be at the expense of long term health.

Help rural areas learn to help themselves: preferable to top-down strategies that pick winners and losers, are strategies that reward the bottom up initiative of local communities. Strategies that expand the capacity of rural communities to make informed decisions will prove beneficial.

The last of these points is perhaps the most important. There are many ways a state can tailor and target assistance. One approach would stress that communities in the most distress should be first in line. Another approach would say assistance should go to the largest population centers because the benefits will reach more people. A triage approach that recognizes that some communities will die even with assistance, and others will get better without assistance, would target aid to those communities in the middle. Regardless of the tailoring and/or targeting approach, states should first consider rewarding local initiative, and should strive to foster local initiative through institution building and leadership development.

Educators have a special role in the changing face of the rural West. Using traditional rural information infrastructures like colleges and Cooperative Extension, and by taking advantage of new infrastructures like distance learning, educators can promote the ability of rural residents to adapt to changing global markets. Educators can also provide the technical assistance necessary to rural businesses and communities to adapt to these same forces. (e.g., Eastern Oregon State College Circuit Rider)

The challenges to policymakers are great. The traditional strengths of rural areas — commodity-based, low value-added production, and narrow skill bases — are often weaknesses in the new global economy. The traditional economic infrastructure — technology, capital, access to information — of rural areas is often inadequate to help people and industries meet the new global challenges.

But the opportunities are great as well. The work ethic, lower costs for land and labor, the quality of the rural lifestyle, and natural beauty are drawing cards for many rural areas. State rural economic development policies should not be separate from, but rather an integral part of the state's overall economic development strategy. In this way the state can move forward, urban and rural areas alike, to capitalize on the growing opportunities this ever -changing world presents!

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Chris McKinnon and Jo Clark of WGA, Doug Henton of SRI International and Phil Burgess of the Western States Strategy Center for their assistance in developing this paper.

The Pacific Northwest: Physical, Economic and Social Characteristics

Thomas J. Maresh*

Before fulfilling my assigned task of describing the characteristics of the region, I would first like to ask you to join me in reflecting on the concept of the Pacific Northwest as a region. I'm going to propose at the outset, that providing a substantive summary of the characteristics of this region is far less a task than is defining the region itself. What is the Pacific Northwest? What are its boundaries? What are the criteria that define it?

Any region is a unit of convenience. It exists in our minds, where we have created it. Regions are artificial constructs, intellectual conveniences, arbitrary ways of organizing space so that we may generalize, simplify, or provide structure to it. Is there a region we agree upon that we can call the Pacific Northwest? And what criteria do we employ in the mental exercise of defining such a region? Is the Pacific Northwest some unit of terrestrial space that has common acceptance in the minds of people? Is this a place that is universally and consistently perceived by people

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as having some internal distinguishing characteristic? I think not.

Thinking about this led me to consider some intriguing perceptual maps developed a few years back. (1) Geographers in the room will know I refer to "mental" maps, or maps which show peoples' differing perceptions of space. When residents in California, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Alabama were asked to evaluate various parts of the country in terms of residential desirability, they produced widely differing products. While the differing patterns of perception present fascinating material for analysis at the national level, there is also applicability to the Pacific Northwest. As we look at these maps, we can ask: Is there some region which emerges as the Pacific Northwest? The answer is clearly no. What does emerge is the recognition that there is a gradient that is at some maximum on the west and declines rather steadily as one progresses eastward. There is certainly no evidence here to suggest that there is some uniform trait which distinguishes "Pacific Northwest", at least not in the minds of the general public. Let me be quick to point out that I think we would also find great disparities in perceptions by people within the region, however we might choose to define it.

There is no evidence to suggest that there is some uniform trait which distinguishes "Pacific Northwest" . . . in the minds of the general public.

Along this line, Zelinsky attempted to identify popular or "vernacular" regions by considering the regional names used by business establishments throughout the nation to identify themselves. (2) Interestingly, we find that "Northwest" was a primary regional association only in portions of Washington, Idaho, and Oregon, although as a secondary association it found attachment well east of the 100th meridian. The term "Pacific" had secondary but virtually no primary association in the northwestern portion of the nation.

If there is no common perception by which we can identify the Pacific Northwest, let's then ask if there is some functional activity which provides a rationale for our viewing some portion of the northwestern part of the country as a distinctive region. That is, is there some central node upon which a hinterland focuses which provides regionality?

Some years ago, geographer Richard Preston analyzed central place functions within Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana. (3) Preston examined a number of indicators, including retail and service functions, provided by population centers. By considering a number of these functions, such as banking and newspaper circulation, Preston was able to establish a hierarchical structure of central place dominance. Confirming what those of you from the region will recognize from common knowledge, his analysis reflects that this is not a nodal region. It does not consist of a common hinterland surrounding some single, dominant node, sharing the common tie of a function provided by that node. In fact, for high order functions, those that have the greatest area influence, several centers are important. Portland and the Seattle-Tacoma conurbation are obviously both of great importance, each with its particular realm over which it tends to provide specific functions. Importantly, Salt Lake City, located outside the study area, and certainly not normally considered a part of the Pacific Northwest, exerts great importance over the southeastern area. Obviously, this influence is not simply in terms of services provided, as reflected here, but rather is a much broader and pervasive cultural influence.

. . .early perceptions of the Oregon Country were of the land beyond the Rockies — a land of promise . . . remote, detached, and isolated.

Thus, Preston's work would seem to indicate that, at least in central place terms, we have some difficulty in visualizing his study area as a cohesive region.

But what of other criteria? Perhaps there is some political function which defines the region. The federal government has established ten standard federal regions. Region 10 includes Washington, Oregon, and Idaho (is this the government's Pacific Northwest?). But, how does the federal government view the Pacific Northwest in practice? The Bureau of Reclamation provides at least a reasonable approximation to

the standard region. This certainly is not the case, however, of the administrative regions of the Federal Power Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Commerce, the Forest Service, or the Federal Reserve System. (4)

The Columbia Gorge had great historical importance in the development of the region, and stands as an environmental and scenic marvel.

Even geographers cannot agree among themselves. A departmental colleague has posted on his office wall a map of the Northwest produced by the venerable National Geographic Society. The map includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. One geography text shows the Pacific Northwest as a coastal strip. Another geographer suggests we should do away with present state designations and region terms and reorganize totally. Not necessarily a bad idea, but not one which does us much good here.

The message is, I hope, clear. The region is unclear.

There is no obvious criterion which gives unity to the Pacific Northwest. However we define it, we do so in compromise, and with recognition that our regionalization belies internal complexities. So, let us for today define our region as three states — Washington, Oregon, and Idaho — and proceed to characterize some of the internal complexities.

Let's reflect on this definition and move into the region. We have, in essence established the eastern border not only along political lines, but also physically by the Rocky Mountains. This reality is something of a unifying fact, in that not only does this place our region, as part of the Far West, remote in linear distance from the more populous centers of the midwest and east, but that remoteness is intensified by the real and effective physical barrier imposed by rugged terrain. The early perceptions of the Oregon Country were of the land beyond the Rockies — a land of promise, but a land which was distant, remote, detached, and isolated. That fact of isolation was a very real element in the settlement and economic history of the area, and it continues today — perhaps in the absolute sense but more particularly in the sense of perceived remoteness. While not sufficient to define our region, this inherent perception of detachment certainly presents a unifying element.

To the west, our region is clearly bounded by another vast barrier — or avenue, depending on the perspective. The Pacific, while serving as an avenue of commerce and shaping the area through the movement of goods and people in Pacific trade, nonetheless constitutes a break in transit, and again this realm is unified in its remoteness and detachment. Moreover, while we will soon see that the region certainly does not share a

. . . the Cascades continue to serve as a barrier to westerly wind movements. . .

common physical environment, it does share the common trait of the physical environment being moderated by the Pacific.

That leaves the northern boundary, at 49N, and the southern boundary, at 42N. We might suggest, with tongue only partially in cheek, that they are determined by foreign cultures. Foreign cultures. Not really, but still distinctly different in focus. The southern boundary of the Oregon Territory was established in 1819, with the land to the south remaining as a portion of Mexico until 1850. To the north, the boundary of Washington with Canada was fixed in 1846.

So, there is the reality of early political isolation, compounded by the physical isolation of linear distance from the population centers of the nation, which was further exaggerated by mountain and ocean barriers. Having drawn this line around the region, let's now begin to backfill, and examine what occupies this space. Let's look for common traits internal to the region, the physical and human characteristics. (5)

In an area rich in impressive physical features, three stand apart as paramount in shaping the patterns of environmental variation and human occupation — the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Puget Sound, the Cascades, and the Columbia River. It is appropriate to discuss these, as you are currently meeting at the intersection of two of those.

Certainly, for much of its modern history, the extensive network of the Columbia River and its tributaries has been a major and unifying element

in the development of the area. The impact of the Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation, of flood control and navigation, of irrigation and electrification, has been pervasive throughout the Northwest. Additionally, the Columbia has served as a significant, albeit often treacherous access through the Cascades. The Columbia Gorge had great historical importance in the development of the region, and today stands as an environmental and scenic marvel. The role of the Gorge will be discussed in substantial detail later this morning.

The Columbia and its tributaries drain 75 percent of the region and account for 55 percent of the runoff, with high levels of runoff to the west of the Cascades and lower levels to the east.

. . .commercial timberland covers 36 percent of the Pacific Northwest and supports 200,000 people.

Irrigation usage is dominant, accounting for as much as 95 percent of the offstream use in some areas, and about half of the offstream use of the Willamette. There is heavy instream use of the Columbia system, including hydroelectricity generation, navigation, fish and wildlife habitat, and recreation. Navigation reaches 320 miles upstream to Lewiston, Idaho, with a channel depth of 15 feet.

It is not surprising that hydroelectricity accounts for about one-half of the energy consumed in the region, compared with 4 percent nationally. Three percent of the population resides here, yet 40 percent of the hydropower consumption occurs here. Moreover, hydropower accounts for about 91 percent of the energy production of the region, with the balance about evenly divided between nuclear and conventional steam.

While the role of the Columbia in the economic history of the region has been profound, we might question if it continues as a dominant or unifying element.

In contrast to the Columbia, with its well-earned reputation for hazardous access, the Strait of Juan de Fuca provides an open, deep, sea-level route to Puget Sound and its many protected harbors, and avoids much of the hazard characteristic of marine navigation on the Columbia. This ease of ingress and egress permitted movement of people, shipment of forest and agricultural commodities and manufactured goods.

The Cascades, the third major element, have had a profound influence on the environment as well as upon the pattern of settlement and human occupation both to the east and west. The Cascades of northern Washington consist of sediments and granites. They are characterized by high ridges (5-8,000 feet) with numerous peaks rising higher. The mark of alpine glaciation is evident on the landscape. The Cascades in Oregon, as well as in southern and central Washington, are formed of extrusive igneous materials. The western portion of these southern Cascades tends to be heavily dissected and very rugged. To the east the surface is a high lava plateau. A number of well-known volcanic peaks rise above the general crest.

Long an effective obstacle to human movement, the Cascades continue to serve as a barrier to westerly wind movements sweeping in from the Pacific.

Located midway between the equator and the north pole on the 45th parallel, our region sits astride a belt of mid-latitude cyclonic storms. The Cascades disrupt the flow of moist and temperate marine air, resulting in less precipitation and greater temperature extremes to the interior and heavier precipitation and more moderate temperatures to the west.

Summer tends to bring high pressure over the northeastern Pacific Ocean, with mild, stable winds moving across the region from the northwest. In winter, the juxtaposition of the subtropical high and the north Pacific low results in a continuing series of frontal zones crossing the region. As cool, moisture laden air rises over frontal surfaces, and as the western slopes of the Coast Range and the Cascades cause orographic uplifting, the air is cooled and precipitation results. Yet, not only does much of the region, being sheltered on the leeward side of the Cascades, receive very modest levels of precipitation, clearly precipitation is dominantly a winter phenomenon, with relatively arid summers.

This physical environment has clearly had a dramatic impact upon the patterns of natural vegetation, human settlement, the nature of human adaptation and modification, and the regional economy. Let's examine that.

The Pacific Northwest contains approximately 8.1 million residents, or 3 percent of the U.S. total. Of these 54 percent live in Washington (4.4 million), 35 percent in Oregon (2.7 million), and 12 percent in Idaho (1 million). Clearly the majority of the population resides west of the Cascades, with one-third in the Puget lowland and one-fourth in the Willamette Valley. King County in Washington has 16 percent and Multnomah has 7 percent, giving these two of the 119 counties 25 percent of the regional total. Nine counties have half of the total, and all of these except Spokane County are west of the Cascades. All states are below the national average density of 64 per square mile, with 62 in Washington, 27 in Oregon, and 12 in Idaho. Certainly this pattern reflects environmental constraints and opportunities. Additionally, as will be elaborated soon, federal ownership of 30 percent of the land area of Washington, 50 percent of Oregon, and 66 percent of Idaho, constitutes another significant reality of the human landscape.

Let's spend a few minutes here to reflect on the characteristics of this population. Approximately 70 percent of the population is considered urban (74 percent in Washington, 68 percent in Oregon, and 54 percent in Idaho) compared to a national average of 74 percent.

The Pacific Northwest is dominantly Caucasian. Approximately 93 percent are white, 2 percent black, 1 percent native Americans, 3 percent Spanish and slightly less than 1 percent Asian. Blacks are found dominantly in the major metropolitan areas (in Oregon 86 percent of blacks live in Portland) — this is not so of peoples of native American or Hispanic descent. The largest concentration of blacks in the Pacific Northwest is in Pierce County, Washington. The largest concentration of Asians resides in King County, Washington, and the largest Hispanic population is found in Adams County, Washington.

Approximately 5-6 percent of the labor force is in the primary sector, one fourth is in the secondary sector, and the remainder are in the tertiary sector. The general structure of the nonagricultural labor force shows strong general similarities, although when examined more closely there are important local variations. For example, while the states are similar in the proportion of employment in the secondary sector, we note important intra-regional distinctions in the structure of manufacturing. The production of transportation equipment in Washington, food processing in Idaho, and lumber and wood products in Oregon are examples. Structure and degree of diversification also vary dramatically from one locale to another.

In recent years per capita personal income levels have been at the national average in Washington, which ranked 16 in 1985 at $13,876, about $1200 less in Oregon, which ranked 29, and about $2700 below the national average in Idaho, which ranked 41.

Both Washington and Oregon are Democratic states, while Idaho is Republican. All three, however, currently have Democratic governors.

I have suggested that the population distribution is closely tied to the nature of the physical environment. That relationship is, of course, expressed through the pattern of land use. Although the majority of the population is considered urban, the pattern of occupation and the structure of the economy are closely tied to the nature of the resource base and the pattern of land ownership. In this regard, we must attach great importance to the role of the government. In Washington, federal and state governments account for 37 percent of total land ownership. In Oregon, government owns 55 percent, and in Idaho the figure reaches 70 percent. The implications for land use, population distribution, and the regional economy are self-evident.

Forest is the dominant land use in the region, covering 46.6 percent of the total land base. Of this, 79 percent is managed as commercial timberland — that is, it is capable of producing 20 cubic feet per acre/year of industrial wood and is not withdrawn from commercial timber harvest. Thus, commercial timberland covers 36 percent of the Pacific Northwest and supports 200,000 people. This accounts for 12 percent of the nation's commercial timberland and 36 percent of all softwood growing stock. The region produces one-half of the nation's softwood and plywood.

As stated earlier, much of this is in public ownership. About 63 percent of the timberland and 70 percent of all growing-stock timber is in public ownership. The U.S. Forest Service con-

trols 47 percent of the forest land and manages 52 percent of the growing stock. The Bureau of Land Management controls 5 percent, state governments 6 percent, and Indian reservations 3.5 percent. Forest industry owns and manages only about 19 percent of the commercial timberland base. About 18 percent is in farm and other private ownership.

The distribution of these forests is, of course, closely associated with the patterns of terrain and climate. The lands to the west of the Cascades provide an excellent environment for timber production, and account for 68 percent of the commercial timberland. Dominant is the Douglas fir subregion, where natural productivity is high. The Douglas fir subregion, with 60 percent of the commercial timberlands producing over 120 cubic feet per acre, represents one of the region's best tree growing environments.

Timberlands owned by forest industries tend to be more intensively managed to produce a high annual growth and supply a high share of the region's annual harvest. National Forests, which manage for multiple use, have on average a lower average annual growth rate and supply a smaller share of total harvest from a larger volume of standing timber.

Grazing lands are a second major land use, particularly in southeastern Oregon and southern Idaho, where much of the land is administered by the Bureau of Land Management. Grazing is the most extensive land use, and accounts for 59 percent of the total farm land and 72.7 million acres of both private and public land use. Ranches are large, often over 10,000 acres — reflecting low moisture availability —and often lease adjacent federal lands.

Irrigated and dry cropland constitutes 23.5 percent of non-federal lands — 14.8 percent in Oregon, 25.8 percent in Washington, and 32.8 percent in Idaho. Cropland constitutes 41 percent of the total farm land. This is expanding as a result of increased irrigation. About 30 percent is presently irrigated. Wheat, hay, and barley comprise 80 percent of the cropland harvested, whereas cattle, calves, and wheat are the dominant commodities by value. However, the region is characterized by diversity, with over 50 other commodities being produced.

As might be expected, farm size is larger in the more arid interior, and value per acre tends to be lower. Although one might expect the pattern of percent of land in farms to follow the pattern of value, it is modified by factors of terrain, soil capability, land ownership, and competitive uses. Corporate ownership is increasing, particularly in the more arid interior.

Less important from the perspective of land use, share of employment, and regional economy, but notable from the perspective of local economic impact, are commercial fishing and mineral production.

Last but not least let us touch on tourism and recreation. Abundance and variety of outdoor recreational opportunities join with plentiful facilities to attract out-of-staters. While it is difficult to measure the contribution of the travel industry to the regional economy, each state places estimates of annual expenditures on travel and tourism activities at several billions of dollars.

What I have been describing is an eclectic region. A region with diverse physical characteristics ranging from coastal forest to glacier covered peaks to sage brush interior. A population concentrated in a narrow north-south axis through the Puget-Willamette lowland. An economy that continues to reflect a heavy dependence upon natural resources, yet holds the nation's leading producer of commercial aircraft and boasts a growing high tech sector. A diverse agriculture that produces wheat, apples, livestock, and premium wines.

This is a region of contrasts. This is a region that pours water on the land via center pivot irrigation to expand the acreage of commercial agriculture, at the same time that the naturally rising waters of Malhuer Lake, in arid south central Oregon, has flooded over 100,000 acres, including 60,000 acres of agricultural land.

It is a region where controversy is a daily occurrence between those dependent upon the resource base as a provider of commodities and those dedicated to preserving aesthetic and ecological qualities. It is a region of wealth alongside poverty, in both the urban and rural landscapes.

And so, while we have covered some of the physical, economic, and social characteristics of

the Pacific Northwest, I hope we have also raised some questions about the region and how we identify with a place. We have seen that there is anything but certainty over the general perception of the region — undoubtedly a result of a lack of homogeneity within the region. If the Pacific Northwest is a region, it is as a mosaic of contrasting landscapes bound together by subtle threads. The question might be asked if those threads are as strong as they once were, or if in the future our sense of place might lead us to a different pattern of regionalization, or to a different level of aggregation or disaggregation as we relate to place.

Notes

(1) For a discussion of mental maps see Ronald Abler, John S. Adams, and Peter Gould *Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World*. Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971, pp. 519-523.

(2) Zelinsky, Wilbur "North America's Vernacular Regions", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 70, No. 1 (March, 1980), pp. 1-16.

(3) Preston, Richard E. "The Structure of Central Place Systems", *Economic Geography*. Vol. 47, No. 2 (April, 1971), pp. 136-155.

(4) Robert E. Norris and L. Lloyd Haring *Political Geography*. Charles E. Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1980, pp. 250-257.

(5) Most of the statistical data on the Pacific Northwest are from A. Jon Kimerling and Philip L. Jackson (eds.) *Atlas of the Pacific Northwest* (Seventh edition). Oregon State University Press, Corvallis, 1985. The Atlas , the single major source of information on the region, is authored by the faculty of the Department of Geography at OSU. I am indebted to my colleagues for the data I have incorporated here.

Forces that Led to the Establishment of the Columbia River Gorge Commission

Stafford Hansell*

For the purposes of this dissertation the boundaries of the Columbia River are as described in the National Scenic Area Act of 1986, from the Deschutes River on the east to the Sandy River on the west. I would have felt that Arlington on the east was a better boundary, but then there are those who felt The Dalles was the proper location.

It is difficult to describe the Columbia Gorge without superlatives. John Allen in his book on the Gorge calls it "The Magnificient Gateway." Since the Columbia River Gorge is the only major gap in the Cascade Range, this title is entirely fitting. The eastern end of the Gorge is semi-arid. The nature of the Gorge gradually changes until it opens into the area now covered by Portland and Vancouver. Much of the western end of the Gorge is almost a rain forest. From desert to pine forest to luxurious fir forest in a matter of 80 miles.

The Gorge is unique with the abundant plant and wildlife found within its boundaries. Some

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species can only be found in the Gorge. The geology of the area is equally interesting. Recorded events began in the late Eocene period some 40 million years ago and culminated near the end of the Ice Age only a few thousand years ago in catastrophic floods and landslides which were responsible for the present steepness of the canyon walls. Volcanism played an important part of the story, as the river cut its way repeatedly through flows of lava and ash. John Eliot Allen's book *Cataclysms on the Columbia* is extremely interesting and informative. The major landslides that took place near present Cascade Locks created a massive lake and eventually altered the course of the Columbia by several miles. The ancient Bridge of the God legends could have come from this damming of the river.

The Gorge provided a great place for Indians. Fish, game, roots, and berries were plentiful. In 1805, Lewis and Clark found the Gorge populated by large numbers of Indians. Many tribes were represented and different languages were spoken.

Lewis and Clark visited and traded with the Indians. They exchanged gifts and smoked and ate with them. Much of their diary has to do with the problems created by the falls at Celilo, the narrows at The Dalles and the cascades at Cascade Locks, but they did take time to document some of the wonders. From their journal of November 2, 1805: "In the meadow to the right at some distance from the hills, stands a perpendicular rock about 800 feet high and 400 feet around the base. This we called Beacon Rock. Just below is an Indian village of 9 houses, situated between two small creeks. At this village the river widens to nearly a mile in extent; the low grounds become wider, and they as well as the mountains on each side are covered with pine, spruce-pine, cottonwood, a species of ash and some alder. After being so long accustomed to the dreary weariness of the country above, the change is as grateful to the eye as it is useful in supplying us with fuel."

On their return trip in 1806, Lewis and Clark took a little more time to enjoy the sights, and in their journal of April 9, 1806: "During the whole of the route from camp we passed along under high, steep, and rocky sides of the mountains, which now close on each side of the river, forming stupendous precipices, covered with fir and white cedar. Down these heights frequently descend the most beautiful cascades, one of which, a large creek, throws itself over a perpendicular rock 300 feet above the water, while other small streams precipitate themselves from a still greater elevation, and evaporating in a mist, collect again and form a second cascade before they reach the bottom of the rocks."

In 1850 the steamboat came to the Columbia. Much of the Gorge was stripped of trees to provide fuel . . .

It wasn't long before other explorers, missionaries, and fur traders visited the area. Then came the covered wagons. Their wagon wheel ruts are still visible in sections of the Columbia Gorge. Areas near The Dalles became a staging area for building rafts to transport the wagons and livestock down the river to Stevenson on the Washington side of the river. The hardships and losses of life among these pioneers is heartrending.

Settlement in the Gorge proceeded as opportunities occurred to make a living. Most were connected with the plentiful natural resources of forest, farm land, and fish.

One should not consider the Columbia Gorge as a primitive or wilderness area. The river has been widely used for transportation by Indians and settlers alike. In 1850 the steamboat came to the Columbia. Much of the Gorge was stripped of trees to provide fuel for the early steamboats. Railroads began in the 1880s. By 1908 there was a railroad on each side of the Gorge. Highways followed and a substantial amount of the level land in the Gorge is occupied by railroads and highways. Two major dams, Bonneville and The Dalles, have been built within the Gorge. The necessary power lines have left unsightly scars within the Gorge. They have also covered many of the Indian fishing areas, burial grounds, and old homesites. The struggle between the Corps of Engineers and the Indian tribes is still going on. There are thirteen areas in the Gorge classified as urban.

But even with these infringements on nature, the Columbia Gorge is still a very "special place."

Efforts have been made since the turn of the

century to protect the Gorge. Some were undoubtedly motivated by the desire to entice more tourism, and the metropolitan areas led the attempts. In 1905 attempts to use Beacon Rock for ballast caused such a furor that a Portland businessman, Henry Biddle, bought it and eventually gave it to the state of Washington for a state park.

Probably no single event had greater influence on what has happened in the Gorge than the building of the Scenic Highway on the Oregon side. Samuel Lancaster, the designer and builder, did a masterful job. Before long, many people had traveled the road, enjoyed the superb scenery, and become advocates of protecting the Gorge.

As early as 1937 it was suggested that an interstate park be established in the Gorge. Quoting from the report of the Northwest Regional Planning Commission: "This rapid acceleration of activity precipitates a crisis in the destiny of the area, in which the perishable natural values of a phenomenal region would, under ordinary circumstances, have no protection comparable in authority or scope to the various forces which endanger them."

Gorge commissions were created by each state. Under-financed, lacking in authority, they still made valuable contributions and kept the issue alive. In 1976 Congress authorized a study of the Gorge. In the ensuing report "Portland Open Space and Urban Parks Report," the Gorge is identified as a resource that is a dramatic combination of rivers, vertical rock escarpments, major waterfalls, luxuriant rain forest, abundant fish and wildlife, and unique historic and prehistoric resources.

Public Law 94-458 directed the Secretary of the Interior to study the area to see if it was of enough significance to be included in the National Park System. A report was published in 1980 under the title "Columbia River— A Study of the Alternatives." The study revealed a host of disturbing development trends in the Gorge and analyzed the problems inherent in the Gorge's multi-jurisdictional governing structure. The alternatives were: 1) the continuation of existing policies, 2) the expansion of the roles of the existing state Gorge commissions, 3) the establishment of a multi-governmental commission, and 4) the establishment of central federal management.

By this time many of the Gorge counties and residents were opposed to change. Other, equally potent groups felt that the first option of doing nothing was not acceptable. There was not much support for continuing the existing Gorge commissions, so alternative three seemed to hold the most promise. Various bills were introduced in Congress and a lot of time was spent by the proponents and opponents supporting their positions. Finally in 1986, under the leadership of Senator Hatfield, a bill was put together that, while full of compromises, was still opposed by Gorge governments. It was supported by environment groups only on the basis that it was the best they could get. It passed Congress with some unusual parliamentary maneuvering and was signed by the President, November 17, 1986.

A book written by Bowen Blair, Jr., Executive Director of Friends of the Columbia Gorge, *The Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area: The Act, Its Genesis and Legislative History*, describes the legislative process step by step and is a great benefit to students of the Act.

The Act creates a dual role for the Forest Service and a thirteen-member commission. The Commission is made up of one member from each of the Gorge counties, appointed by their respective county commissions; three members appointed by the governor of Washington; and three by the governor of Oregon. A thirteenth member is non-voting and is appointed by the Forest Service. The Commission is funded by appropriations from Oregon and Washington.

. . . the Gorge is a dramatic combination of rivers, vertical rock escarpments, major waterfalls, luxuriant rain forest, abundant fish and wildlife, and unique historic and prehistoric resources.

The purposes of the Act are: 1) to establish a national scenic area to protect and provide for the enhancement of the scenic, cultural, recreational, and natural resources of the Columbia River Gorge, and 2) to protect and support the economy of the Columbia River Gorge area by encouraging growth to occur in existing urban areas and by allowing future economic develop-

ment in a manner that is consistent with the first purpose.

The Forest Service is to manage the land it owns as well as the islands in the Gorge. These are known as Special Management Areas. The Commission manages most of the privately owned land known as General Management Areas. A management plan for each is to be developed within the next 3 to 4 years.

The Commission began functioning July 1, 1987, and has carefully followed the directives of the Act. During the first year we were required to prepare inventories of the economy, recreation and natural resources. This is nearly completed and we will begin a phase of preparing the master plan in the near future. From all indications the Commission and its staff are on a time table that is consistent with the Act.

It is too early to tell if the Act is a great success and if the Commission and the Forest Service will achieve the goals set out, but I am confident these will be achieved.

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Visions, Change and Worlds in the Columbia River Gorge

Alan L. Gallagher*

"For every town and every place,
God made the stars especially."

G. K. Chesterton
The Ballad of Notting Hill

"The land was ours before we were the lands'....
Something we were withholding made us weak
Until we found out that it was ourselves....
To the land vaguely realizing westward,
But still unstoried, artless, unenhanced."

Robert Frost
The Gift Outright

"We must make myths for the land."

Gary Snyder
He Who Hunted Birds in His Father's Village

In the Columbia River Gorge, there is a collision of visions and dreams as tremendous as that of the physical forces which carved the land.

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The area, to pursue the metaphor, is a fault zone, in which those visions can be identified and seen in conflict. As a community, a region or a nation, we have not determined what the area is, or what our relationship to it should be. In it, our illusions and realities clash.

The Columbia River Gorge is a geological entity, now given reality under federal protective law. In its history as a highway, a crossroads, a meeting place of many diverse visions and cultures, the Gorge has always been "owned" by large numbers of people, and not just by those who lived at the site for all or part of the year. In Indian times, resident tribal groups lived in a land of wealth, harvesting, sharing, and trading that wealth across large territories. The Gorge served as a gathering place , a trading mart, and a corridor.

. . . the white man appeared to sweep away before him the Indian and the Condor, and today appears to own dominate the land of the Gorge.

In Skamania County, Washington, in the early 1800s, Lewis and Clark made the first official sighting of what we now call the California Condor. During the next two centuries, the white man appeared to sweep away before him the Indian and the Condor, and today appears to own and dominate the land of the Gorge.

Physically, the most evident marks of man on the land are the great dams, the transmission towers, and the highways. Bonneville Dam, The Dalles Dam, the Bonneville Power Administration and the works of the Army Corps of Engineers were the creation of the Roosevelt Administration in the 1930s and brought electricity, indeed "civilization" to the region.

Liberals in those days celebrated the great works of man to bring light and irrigation. Woody Guthrie's songs written for the BPA are justly celebrated, even if their darker verses have been less sung. *Green Douglas Fir where the water cut through, Down her wild canyons and valleys she flew, Pacific Northwest to the Ocean so blue, Roll on Columbia, Roll on.*. The river and the Gorge were seen as a national and regional asset. Local jobs and wealth were generated through national investment.

The federal government owns most of Skamania County as well as huge portions of the rest of the Gorge, and now exercises additional stewardship through the national Scenic Management Act, the Forest Service, and the Gorge Commission.

From the days of the Oregon Trail to today, the Louisiana Territory, the Oregon Territory, the Great Northwest, Washington and Oregon, the Columbia River Gorge have been conceived of as owned by and part of the emerging nation, and have been developed as a national and regional resource, as a highway of commerce and of power. Today the river is a major highway for barge traffic, and interstate roads and rails converge through the Gorge.

The official populations of the Gorge counties are small—Skamania, 7,600; Klickitat, 16,500; Hood River, 16,200; and Wasco, 22,400: just over 24,000 on the Washington side and over 38,000 on the Oregon side. On the Washington side, most of the population is clustered into a few communities along or near the river. Similarly, on the Oregon side, the major towns are Hood River and The Dalles, with tiny communities mostly along the river.

Indians continue to live (legally or not) within the Gorge. . . their claim is a major presence, whatever their official numbers.

The area is one of temperature extremes, with annual rainfall running from over 120 inches a year in one valley to under 20 inches a year in an adjoining valley, just twenty miles away. The winds in the Gorge regularly exceed 50 mph, and often go much higher. In winter, tremendous ice storms sweep through and not only close the Gorge, but in recent years have paralyzed the entire Portland area for weeks at a time. The climatic forces and geography tend to keep the resident population confined to within the Gorge valley and the minor corridors outside.

Over 4 million vehicles drive through the Gorge each year, with a million or so stopping at Multnomah Falls, its most celebrated sight. Indians continue to live (legally or not) within the Gorge, to fish and to use it for ancient ceremonial occasions. Legally and politically, their

claim is a major presence, whatever their official numbers. Lawsuits, multi-state compacts and congressional laws divide the land like conquered territories. Increasing numbers of Hispanics come to harvest fruit, trees, vegetables and other crops (*...it's up north to Oregon to gather your hops; Dig the beets from your ground, cut the grapes from your vine, To set on your table your light sparkling wine*). From agriculture to tourism, from Mexican illegals to original Indian inhabitants, from national forests to national resources, the Gorge is visioned, owned, and used each year—officially or not—by hundreds, thousands, and millions more than the tiny number of official residents.

A collision of visions produced the Scenic Management Act and the protected Gorge. A conflict of visions (hydro-electric and nuclear) has altered the ways of producing electricity. A conflict of visions attends each proposed change in the Gorge. Each decision—to build a park, to build a bed-and-breakfast, to log a tree or a forest, to improve or remove, to expand electricity or restrict it, to develop or not—is caught in a welter of conflicting visions.

Local inhabitants are often bewildered by the diversity, intensity, and impact of the visions, many of which are expressed by law and embodied in institutions which govern the region like huge absentee owners: The Corps of Engineers, Bonneville Power, the Forest Service, state and federal regulatory agencies, from environmental protection to land protection to state and local planning boards and zoning laws. All confirm

. . .Indian leaders share a vision that they are the remnant, preserving the old ways in purity . . .

that multiple owners share multiple and often conflicting visions about whose the land is and what is its proper use. Local residents also share an American vision of democracy and local control which, given the actual owners and users of the area, is and must be in many ways an illusion. Economically, the area is one of company towns in the private sector, and distant governmental owners in the public sector.

Conflicting Visions. Chuck Williams, a native Cascade Indian now working for the Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission, author of *Bridge of the Gods*, describes living and breathing the Gorge, sitting nights atop Beacon Rock, feeling the rhythms and colors. This vision led him to initiate federal protection for the Gorge, even though neighbors hate and ostracize him, and slash his tires or shoot at him. For him the Gorge is a valuable possession of the native Indians and of the Nation, to be preserved and respected because that is its best use.

David Sohappy, an Indian religious leader, is now a convicted federal prisoner for fishing in the Gorge in violation of federal laws preserving the fish. Sohappy and other Indian leaders share a vision that they are the remnant, preserving the old ways in purity until the world is once more destroyed and only the elect shall survive to

. . . we have brought back models . . seeking to encourage or implant visions to aid our leaders to take risks.

renew the spiritual and physical link with nature. For him, the Gorge is the place of unkept promises, where Indian properties and rights were taken, unrespected and uncompensated.

Teri Deras, a native Cascade Indian, is president of a community action program, a senior services advocate, and a writer. She sees not only the unkept promises of the past, but unmet responsibilities of the present, where the nation and the state have taken control of the region and its resources, but not adequately provided for its poor and needy. She sees annual unemployment over 17 percent for 15 years, with seasonal highs over 40 percent, a poverty population in the 40-50 percent range, extreme stress, lack of resources, and little attention paid.

Albert Hamilton, native American (Hawaiian) and director of economic development, has visions of preserving the quality of the region, but also of adapting to change to protect that quality, which for him means job preservation and creation through compatible development. He sees change as an inevitability to be met and shaped.

Two years ago I spoke to several classes of high school students about to graduate. I asked each class for a show of hands: how many

expected to remain in the Gorge—within one year—within five years? Only two raised their hands. The rest saw no future here, no jobs.

An outpost of Clark County Community College recently shut down. Dozens of timber operators went out of business in the early 1980s. North Bonneville construction gave us good figures for the 1980 Census, which deprived us of government benefits based on that census, but immediately plunged us back into our normal excessive poverty and unemployment. Labor unrest at Champion International led to strikes, pay and benefits cuts, and layoffs. Commonwealth Aluminum, Klickitat's major employer, engaged in a strike/lockout of employees, and then closed in 1987, reopening under new ownership with a lesser workforce. Broughton Lumber closed in 1986-87. Willamette Industries closed in 1987. Hundreds of jobs were lost.

Environmental protection and businesses both have external costs, which should be paid.

The landscape is littered with economic development dreams. The new town of North Bonneville exists, but in an apparent death-grip with the Army Corps of Engineers, which holds not only land crucial to its development plans, but a Court of Claims judgement against the city for over $1 million.

The Port of Skamania is a financially troubled marginal port. Local Skamania County governments are poor, dependent on timber receipts (which have been threatened), have little tax base, no real rainy day reserves, and little infrastructure to attract outside industry.

Driving from west to east, one passes the sites of uncompleted dreams. A housing project stopped by environmental concerns. A dam that was to have satisfied environmentalists by being painted green. A nuclear plant. Chemical plants around Dallesport. Major destination resorts at North Bonneville, Bingen, White Salmon, and Goldendale.

The major successes have lain in two areas. Windsurfing—the accidental, the unpredicted asset, which turned a perennial complaint into a source of wealth—and its spinoffs in land and business development and use. The other has been some work to assist and preserve existing businesses. There have been major successful projects in the Gorge. One might call the Scenic legislation such a project. Active regional and county economic development groups are weaving partnerships and successes where jealousies and bitter local rivalries had been the recent role.

However, a critical lack in many Gorge communities is a sense of self-respect and self-assessment. Touring the area, you can observe the slum-like decay of many of its homes, the vacancies in many business sites. Many local residents and businesses have not learned to welcome and respect outsiders, and are unattuned to current business methods and practices.

Social Services. KS-DC was formed in 1965 as the community action program for the two Gorge counties. Created under President Johnson's war on poverty, it was a federal initiative using local leaders and federal funds to identify and work on local problems of poverty.

From its earliest days, KS-DC leaders saw it not merely as a poverty agency, but as one whose ultimate role was to assist people out of poverty through job creation. Over the years, KS-DC was instrumental in creation of other programs—Head Start, low-income housing, Senior Programs, the Mid-Columbia Economic Development District, the economic development programs for its counties (KEDO and SCEDC), Mid-Columbia Marketing, United Way, etc. Currently it operates energy crisis assistance (helping over 1100 households each winter), low-income weatherization (about 100 households each winter), food and emergency shelter, an INS legalization program, a wood program, domestic violence, and assistance to other charities and non-profits.

. . . identification and protection often increase use and are detrimental to protection.

KS-DC houses KEDO and United Way, and coordinates food and shelter programs for both counties. Since 1979, it has published over 20 professional studies of, or for, the region, including economic development feasibility studies and community resource guides. It has provided legal

services for the poor and served as a grant writer and catalyst. Unlike many community action programs, it has seen itself intimately engaged with the entire fate of its community. KS-DC has helped put on, or has co-sponsored, conferences on tourism, timber, and local economic development. It has helped generate and spin off small businesses and supported local home crafts cooperatives. Its Board and staff serve on the board and committees of other charities and of local government and economic development groups.

One image of success which we have used is that of local churches. In America, there are large numbers of churches—over 60 in Klickitat and Skamania counties—which citizens built and sustain without any governmental assistance, because they want them. When the will is there, the resources can usually be found. In recent years, we have brought back to this community models of community self-assessment from around the country, seeking to encourage or implant visions which could aid leaders to take risks.

In 1985-86, KS-DC helped create and support the two Washington-side economic development organizations. In 1986, KS-DC led creation of a new two-county United Way, to engage the entire community in seeing and responding to the social needs of the whole community.

For over a decade, *unemployment* in Klickitat and Skamania counties has been at the top of counties in the Northwest. *The annualized average for both counties is over 17 percent, with seasonal highs going into the 40-percent range.* In recent years, the federal government has provided USDA commodities, which KS-DC distributes. Over the last year and more, when foods have been available, between 7700 and 9300 individuals have self-declared themselves at or below the federal poverty level in order to receive these foods. Through record checks, personal observation, and because our purely volunteer program workers know the recipients, we are persuaded that there is no significant misrepresentation. These numbers mean that *even during the summer months*—when employment is at its peak—around *two-fifths of the population is in poverty.* The data show that our counties have lower income than other counties in the region.

Our own observation is that much of the wealth derived here leaves the community. It is invested in Portland, Hood River or elsewhere. Regional and even local banks are reluctant to invest locally. Although this may be understandable, it has devastating effects. It is common for poorer communities to be net outproducers/exporters of dollars, as well as other commodities. Ireland exported food during the famine. We export wealth and live in poverty.

Our counties, unlike most urban areas, suffer from what we have called "the rural factor." We have few charities, and few charitable service personnel, no public transport and huge distances, small budgets with litle working capital, and little access to major funders because we don't ring their proper political bells. We are not located in urban or major corporate areas, so they won't give here.

Government dollars keep being trimmed. Even when the actual dollars are constant or rise, the portion allocated to rural areas such as ours decreases. Allocations on an equality formula basis shortchange the rural areas, whose lack of other sources of funds, lack of transport and infrastructures, and huge distances make the cost of delivery larger. Within the charitable community, rural areas often find themselves outcompeted by urban areas. In both social services and economic development in Washington and Oregon, rural programs properly complain that most of the dollars go into the I-5 urbanized corridor—to "them what already has," while we starve for dollars.

Washington state has not developed the same vision for social services as it has for economic development. The Team Washington concept has led to economic development successes within the state, where key people work with a local centralized agency to develop a real vision of what goes on county by county, with specific plans to address the problems and opportunities of each. We find that this is a process with promise, which should be replicated in the social services area.

Some Gorge protection proponents will oppose many job creation visions, without replacing them with offsetting compatible job protection or job producing plans. *Environmental protection and businesses both have external*

costs, which should be paid. Pollution of the environment should be avoided and corrected, but unemployment and poverty are natural consequences of no- and low-growth policies. Those who restrain should accept the moral consequences by assisting the development of strategies to create jobs in or outside of the affected area for those residents driven to or condemned to poverty, unemployment, and underemployment by protection.

The Gorge legislation has done this *on paper* by making compatible economic development (in the urban areas) one of the goals of the Commission, along with protection of the environment. But this vision too must compete and win a place at the table of visions for the Gorge.

I wish to remind readers of the fragility of economic success. Timber, aluminum, agriculture, and government in the Gorge are fragile. In eastern Klickitat County, Washington's Department of Ecology predicts the water table will be used up within a twenty-year time frame. In times of stress, rural areas are least likely to recover. Electricity rates in the region are at hazard. The available base for timber extraction is reduced continually and has introduced fragility into the timber industry. The gold of windsurfing and tourism may prove real, or may prove to be fool's gold.

Environmentalists such as Nash (*Wilderness and the American Mind*) have noted that identification and protection often increase use and are detrimental to protection. I still recall a brochure from a favorite spot in the East: "Be one of the many thousands to visit this isolated wilderness place each year." I believe that scenic protection, perversely, will increase, rather than decrease, the forces for development of the Gorge. Change, the "destroyer of worlds," will continue to challenge, crush, and satisfy dreams and visions in the Gorge, but these may be visions yet unseen.

In David Sohappy's vision, through a natural catacylsm or through the direct results of our own excesses, we shall be eradicated from the land, which shall be returned to the native Indian elect, to undergo yet another cycle.

In other visions, the Gorge remains protected, lovely (ignoring the reality of huge dams, roads and electric power lines, and the actual history and use of the region). In local visions, citizens are subdued by a lordly absentee government, aided by complaisant private timber barons and thoughtless one-issue environmentalists.

To others, it will remain just a road through an awful lot of green trees, with a couple of nice waterfalls for a postcard or a quick photo.

To the residents and the poor, these larger visions will pass unnoticed because of the pressure of their immediate crises, and their failure to be included in the operative mix of visions for the Gorge.

For others, the Gorge will remain a place to be studied, and success may continue to be measured by the number of conferences and proceedings such as this, to gather dust awaiting another vision of a conference on the Gorge (I have taken to calculating the costs of conferences, and wondering how many programs I could run or persons feed if the dollars involved had been allocated instead to the people rather than the problem).

Finally, I have a vision that we students, service middlemen, social servants and government personnel will learn to measure whether our work produces real changes in the communities or people we study or work among, and that we develop an ethic which will result in real help.

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Traditional Industries of the Columbia River Gorge

Phillip E. Crawford*

The traditional industries of the Gorge are forestry and logging, agriculture, manufacturing, recreation and tourism, government, hydropower generation, transportation, and finally, fish propagation and fishing.

Sailboarding is the newest recreational activity. Thousands of sailboarders come to Hood River to engage in this exciting sport which depends on windpower, a plentiful commodity throughout the Gorge. Recreation is not new in the Gorge. The Hotel St. Martin at Carson, Washington, built in the early 1900s as a hot springs spa, has been revived and is operating today. The other early hot springs resorts are gone, however. Collins Point Spa is now under water from the Bonneville Dam, but at the beginning of this century sternwheelers plied the river, bringing tourists to the various watering spots.

Most of the people who visit the Gorge come for sightseeing, for the magnificent sunsets or the magical evening views in the east Gorge. Photographers come to capture rainbows and other items

*Washington State University Cooperative Extension

of special beauty.

The Gorge is famous for its botanical resources and wildflowers. One botanical site was important enough to attract three well-known governors — Dan Evans, Cecil Andrus, and Tom McCall, for whom the site was named.

Manufacturing of wood products began with the first settlers employing water-powered sawmills and mule-powered railways. One of the last lumber flumes in the country came to an end in 1987 with the closing of the old Broughton mill. Built in the 20s, it covered nine miles of twists and turns from the mountains to the Columbia River and when a board jammed, it created chaos.

Lumber and plywood manufacturing are the largest industry today, with Oriental markets an increasingly important outlet. Many mills are producing the specially cut and sawn lumber that Japanese, Chinese, and Korean markets demand.

Today the river is a series of impoundments serving log and barge traffic as well as recreational boats.

The other major manufacturing industry is aluminum smelting, which is located here because of the low-cost power available. Hydropower generation is another of the Gorge's major products. The Dalles Dam is one of two major power dams. A second powerhouse was recently completed at the Bonneville Dam, which used the last remaining unallocated water in the Columbia River.

Although government wasn't much of an industry when the first Skamania County Courthouse was built, today it is tied with lumber manufacturing for first place in the economy. Federal government manages power dams, Indian fishing sites, fish hatcheries, wildlife refuges, thousands of acres of National Forests, and the world's largest conifer seedling nursery.

Forestry and logging are very traditional in the Gorge. From seedlings to managed young forests, modern forestry as well as important research is still carried out in this region. Large old-growth timber is still being harvested on public land, but some private forests are third generation.

The Gorge was a transportation route even before Lewis and Clark found their way to the Pacific Ocean. It wasn't long before railroads were built, although not without some difficulty. Roads, too, were an engineering challenge. The old Columbia River Highway was the only route in Oregon prior to construction of the I-84 freeway in the 50s. Water transportation by sternwheeler was popular in calmer sections of the river, but some areas required locks to bypass white water.

Today the river is a series of impoundments serving log and barge traffic as well as recreational boats. Major highways and railroads trav-

*From *Rural Counties of the Columbia Gorge: Highlights of Economic Growth and Structure, 1965-84*. Smith, Gary W. and Randall S. Anderson. Washington State University Cooperative Extension, EB 1459.

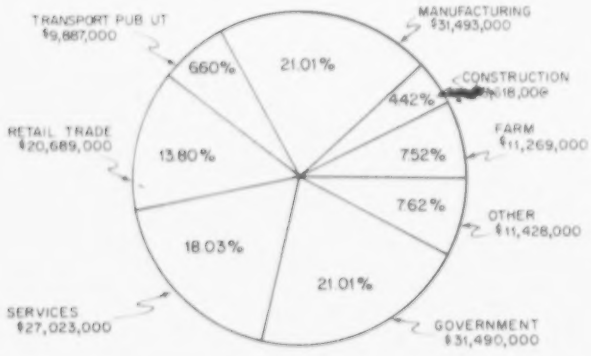

Figure 1. Major Industry Sources of Wasco County Income by Place of Work, 1984.*

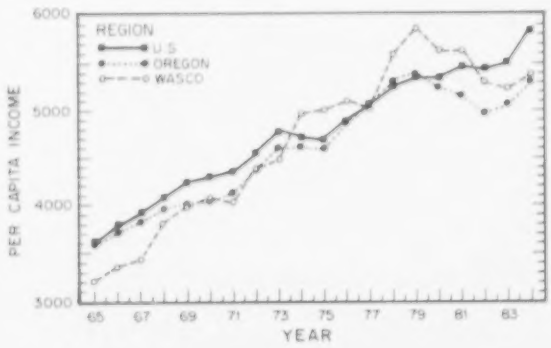

Figure 2. Per Capita Personal Income (1972 Dollars), Wasco County, Oregon and U.S.*

erse both sides of the Gorge, providing sea level passage through the Cascade mountain range.

For thousands of years, Indians gathered in the Gorge to harvest incredible salmon runs, most notably at Celilo Falls east of The Dalles, Oregon. Salmon meat was preserved by drying for year-round use as a staple. The invention of the fishwheel to harvest salmon allowed massive overharvesting. This contraption continuously scooped salmon from the river. The harvest

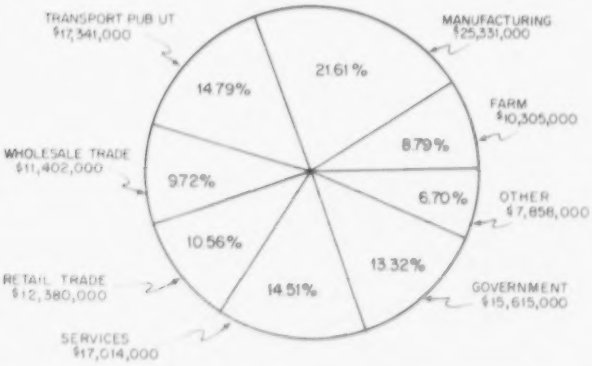

Figure 3. Major Industry Sources of Hood River County Income by Place of Work, 1984.*

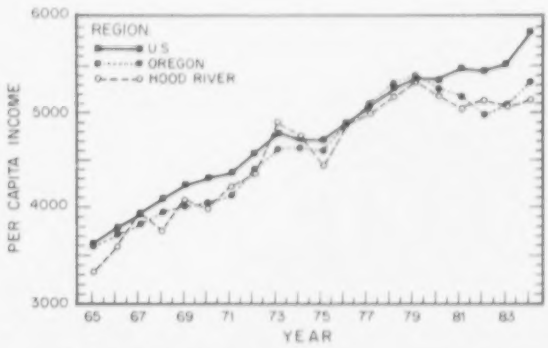

Figure 4. Per Capita Personal Income (1972 Dollars), Hood River County, Oregon and U.S.*

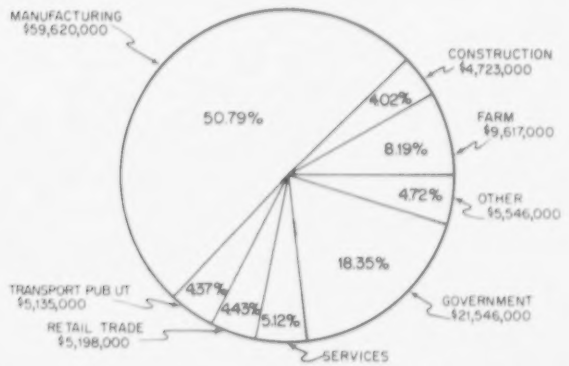

Figure 5. Major Industry Sources of Klickitat County Income by Place of Work, 1984.*

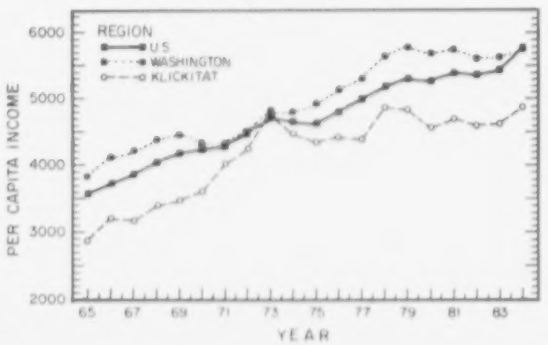

Figure 6. Per Capita Personal Income (1972 Dollars), Klickitat County, Washington and U.S.*

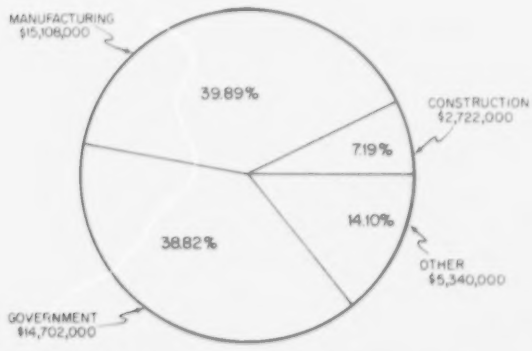

Figure 7. Major Industry Sources of Skamania County Income by Place of Work, 1984.*

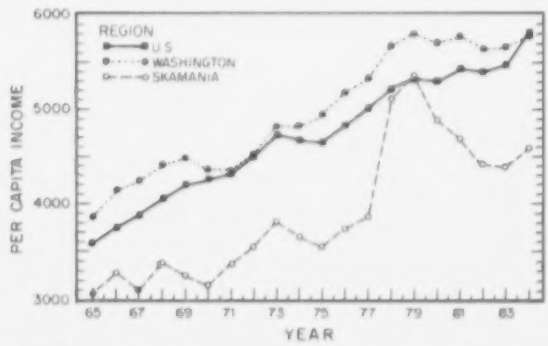

Figure 8. Per Capita Personal Income (1972 Dollars), Skamania County, Washington and U.S.*

peaked in 1883 at an estimated 42 million pounds.

Indian fishing sites established in lieu of ancestral sites are testimony to the destruction of the great fish runs by overfishing, dam construction, and loss of spawning habitat from logging and agriculture. Although the salmon are beginning to come back, there is little commercial fishing left in the upper river. All that remains is a carefully regulated Indian and sports fishery.

As shown in the figures, the relative importance of various sectors, such as manufacturing, farming, and government, creates widely different economies in each of the four rural Gorge counties. In Wasco County the economy is fairly diverse, with manufacturing, government, and services showing about equal shares of 60% of the total income in the county. Per capita income has generally been above the state average, and sometimes above the national average, due partly to the high wages in the aluminum industry. A downturn in 1980 was partially attributable to wood products decline.

Hood River County has the most mixed economy of the four counties, with about equal contributions from manufacturing, government, transportation and utilities, services, and retail and wholesale trade. Per capita income in Hood River County is the most stable of the four, and closely follows the state average.

Klickitat County is very dependent on manufacturing, which amounts to 50 percent of the total employment, and on government. In only one year in the nineteen-year period between 1965 and 1984 did the per capita income reach the state average.

Skamania County's economy has two major components: manufacturing (primarily wood products) and government. Even with the strong government presence, Skamania County's per capita income is consistently well below the state average, and never reached it in the years 1965-1984.